THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1868-1870

MINUTES


00217610

THIS VOLUME contains the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (the First International) from September 1868 to July 1870, together with documents issued by the General Council in the same period.

The first Volume contains the Council's Minutes and other documents from the foundation of the International in 1864 up to August 1866; the second does the same for the period between September 1866 and September 1868. The entire collection of Documents of the First International was prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to mark the Centenary of the foundation of the International.

The present volume contains, together with various indices, the English translation of those General Council documents which were written in other languages.

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Documents of THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

1868 * 1870

VOLUME III

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



FOR THE CENTENARY
OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S
ASSOCIATION
1864-1964

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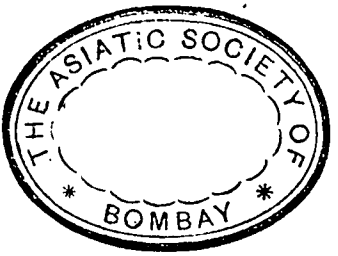
DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL





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Documents of
THE
FIRST
INTERNATIONAL



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1868-1870

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INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM OF THE C.C., C.P.S.U.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1868-1870

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PREFACE

This volume presents, for the first time in the language of the original, the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association—the First International—for the period between September 22, 1868 and July 12, 1870. They continue the 1864-68 Minutes, published in the two earlier volumes *The General Council of the First International. 1864-1866. The London Conference, 1865. Minutes,* and *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes,* Progress Publishers, Moscow.

These documents are a valuable source for a study of the history of the International. They mirror the efforts of the General Council to develop the workers' class consciousness and proletarian internationalism, its fight to get the world working-class movement to accept a socialist programme based on the ideological and organisational principles of Marxism as opposed to sectarianism and petty-bourgeois reformism. The Minutes also bring out the great part played by Marx in leading the first mass international organisation of revolutionary workers.

The period between the Brussels Congress of the International Working Men's Association (September 1868) and the commencement of the Franco-Prussian war (July 1870) was marked by heightened economic, social and interstate contradictions in Europe and America. It was also marked by the upsurge of the Irish national liberation

struggle, the Spanish bourgeois revolution which began in 1868, the rapidly growing revolutionary situation in France, and other great historical events.

The workers' economic battles had taken on unprecedented scope. Strikers were putting up stubborn resistance, as evidenced by the strike of ribbon-weavers and silk-dyers in Basle, of building workers and of compositors in Geneva, of puddlers in Seraing and of miners in Borinage (Belgium), the numerous miners' strikes in the Loire, Lyons and other areas of France, strikes in Austria-Hungary, Britain, Germany, the United States and elsewhere. Fearing the proletariat's mounting strength, the bourgeoisie sought help from their governments to defend their class interests, and the governments sent police and troops to help the employers to break up strikes (see pp. 85-86, 95, 138-39, 171, etc., of the present volume).

On several occasions the General Council of the First International succeeded in combining the efforts of the international proletariat in the fight against capitalists. The documents published in this volume show that workers appealed to the General Council for assistance in their clash with the manufacturers (pp. 32, 59-60, 80, etc.). The Council organised collections to help strikers, did much to prevent strike-breakers being brought from foreign countries, and so on. It acted consistently in defence of the workers' vital interests (pp. 58, 88, 96, 302-09, 312-18, etc.). The employers regarded the International Association as their sworn enemy and frequently sacked workers simply for belonging to the International (pp. 68, 185, etc.).

The various sections of the Association had to work in difficult conditions. In France, they were banned, three Committees of the Paris sections were one after another brought to court by the Bonapartist police; practically every workers' meeting was held with police officers in attendance and it was immediately dispersed when the name of the International was mentioned. In Belgium, the

police persecuted, arrested and searched those who simply took part in meetings as well as members of the Belgian Federal Council. In Germany and Austria-Hungary, the workers were unable to declare open allegiance to the Association; everywhere the International came under fire from the bourgeois press (pp. 35, 108, 167, etc.). Despite police persecution and malicious slander in the bourgeois papers, the prestige and popularity of the International steadily grew. Almost every Council meeting heard news of affiliation to the International by more workers' organisations and individuals from Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Spain, Italy, Austria-Hungary, etc., and extension of the Council's contacts in the United States (pp. 32, 55, 77, 89, 108, etc.).

The activity of the General Council between 1868 and 1870 was overwhelmingly influenced by the decisions taken at the Geneva and Brussels congresses of the International, decisions which had tremendous significance for the victory of scientific socialism over Proudhonism and other sectarian trends. The Belgian and French workers who had adhered to the Proudhon dogma that strikes were harmful, the German workers who had been under the influence of Lassalle and therefore underestimated the economic struggle, the workers of Switzerland and other countries—they all began to accept, in the course of their class struggle, the Marxist viewpoint on the importance of strikes and trade organisations in the proletariat's general fight for emancipation. They formed trade societies and turned to the General Council for support in establishing contacts with workers' societies in other countries (pp. 40, 138, 224-25, etc.). As Eugène Dupont said on February 9, 1869, "The discussions of the Credit question were going out of date in France; forming trade societies was in the ascendant" (p. 66).

Acting on the decisions taken at the Geneva and Brussels congresses (pp. 289 and 293), the General Council

helped the workers of various trades to get in touch with one another and to gather information about production and market conditions, the price of raw material, etc. (pp. 80-81, 118, etc.). The General Council and local workers' societies discussed the questions of using the funds of trade organisations for forming co-operatives and drawing the unemployed of a given branch of industry into them (pp. 79, 153), the prospects of using common lands by transferring them to workers' associations to farm them in a co-operative way (pp. 79-80, etc.). By experience, members of the International came to realise that the organisation of co-operatives within the framework of capitalist society could not essentially change society and that the complete emancipation of the working class was only possible by the proletariat winning political power (see *The General Council. 1864-1866,* pp. 285-86, and the present volume, p. 289).

The Brussels Congress resolutions on the need for establishing common property in land, mines, collieries, railways, etc. (pp. 295-96), had tremendous importance for the further development of the international working-class movement. Only when the advanced workers had overcome petty-bourgeois sectarianism and reformism was it possible to include this cardinal question into the International's programme. The adoption of these resolutions had vast theoretical and political importance and signified the victory of socialist principles in the programme of the International Working Men's Association.

Marx and Engels linked the demand to do away with private ownership of land, endorsed by the Basle Congress (pp. 118-23, 158), with the question of the proletariat's ally in the countryside, of the role of the peasants in the proletarian revolution. After the Basle Congress, in connection with the stand taken on this question by the German Social-Democrats, Marx and Engels elaborated in more detail the proletarian party's tactics in relation to the peasants.

They advanced the principle of grading the approach to different sections of peasants. Big peasant proprietors exploiting day-labourers and farm-hands were to be regarded as a purely bourgeois class, but leaseholders and middle and small peasants were to be seen as a force which could be won over to the workers. This principle was of immense importance in propagating socialist ideas in the countryside, which at that time confronted sections of the International in different countries. Later on Lenin used it in formulating his theory on the worker-peasant alliance.

The Congress resolutions on making the land common property met the approval of Paris workers and helped them to isolate the Right-wing Proudhonist leaders. Jung, who called in Paris on his way home from Basle, had every right to declare at the Council meeting of September 14: "Most of the men of Paris are in favour of common property in land. The delegates who voted against do not represent the real opinion" (p. 158). In letters to the General Council the workers of Switzerland, Belgium, Britain and elsewhere showed their approval of the socialist programme and the change to collectivism (pp. 105, 112, 206, etc.).

As is evident from the Minutes of the General Council, it held several important discussions in preparation for the Basle Congress, and these enabled the Council delegates to take a united stand at the Congress. The Basle Congress passed resolutions affecting the structure of the Association's organisation, the rights and duties of its leading body—the General Council—its relations with local federations and sections. These resolutions went a long way to help strengthen the International and the part played by the General Council.

The principles of building a workers' organisation became at this stage of development of the International Association increasingly important in view of consolidation of workers' organisations on a national scale; this process

found expression in the formation of the first mass political party of workers in Germany and the federations of the International in Belgium, France and other countries.

In its documents the General Council underlined the inseparable link between economic and political struggle. On May 3, 1870, Marx reiterated at the Council meeting that the Association's purpose was "to aid ... all political movements tending to ... the economical emancipation of the working class" (pp. 231-32). When British liberal trade unionists on the General Council attempted to reduce the question of workers' political action merely to workers' representation in Parliament, Marx said: "There are different ways of considering the political labour movement and we must have a comprehensive form to include them [all]" (p. 268).

After the Basle Congress a struggle began inside the International over vital issues of theory and tactics with the new variety of petty-bourgeois socialism, Bakunin's sectarian anarchism. The Minutes, and particularly the General Council documents written by Marx, consistently demonstrate the General Council's fight against the theoretical views and disorganising, disruptive activity of Bakunin in the International. The question of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy was raised at the Council meeting on December 15, 1868. As recorded in the Minutes, even at that time Marx and other Council members had already revealed the danger of Bakunin's dissentient plans. In reference to Bakunin's Alliance, Dupont and Johannard said that "this new society could only be a source of weakness to the I.W.M.A.; that the very objects they sought to attain were being worked out by the I.W.M.A. in a far abler manner than ever they could by this new one" (pp. 53-54). In the section "From the Manuscripts of Karl Marx", this book publishes, for the first time in the language of the original, Marx's remarks to the draft programme and rules of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; they are the first

rough criticism of Bakunin's programme. Marx exposes the purely declarative and demagogic nature of the programme, whose basic points—"equalisation of classes", abolition of the right of inheritance and abstention from political struggle—could only befog the workers and bring harm to the international proletarian movement. Marx is quite explicit about Bakunin's disruptive plans in relation to the International Working Men's Association. "They want to compromise us under our own patronage," writes Marx in the margin of the rules (p. 276).

In July and August 1869, the General Council discussed the question of the right of inheritance. During the discussion and in the report endorsed by the Council Marx showed the theoretical untenability of the demand to abrogate the right of inheritance, which, it was asserted, would lead to the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. He provided a positive analysis of some of the theses of historical materialism and his theory of the proletarian revolution: "The laws of inheritance are not the *cause*, but the *effect*, the *juridical consequence* of the *existing economical organisation of society*, based upon private property in the means of production" (p. 322). Further he stressed that this demand was of no interest for the workers since they had nothing to inherit, but it could bring them colossal political harm because it would alienate their ally, the peasants. Under no circumstances could abolition of the right of inheritance serve as the beginning of a social revolution: "The beginning must be to get the means to socialise the means of labour" (p. 131).

After the General Council had refused to admit the Alliance into the International on the conditions it proposed (pp. 299-301), Bakunin and his supporters agreed to dissolve the Alliance; they preserved it, however, as a secret organisation and, having succeeded in getting their members accepted into local sections of the International, they

continued the fight against Marx, the General Council and the principles of the International.

At the Basle Congress Bakunin and his supporters endeavoured to gain control of the International and, having failed, declared open war on the General Council, making *L'Égalité,* newspaper of the Romance Federation, their mouthpiece. The chief slogan around which they began to rally all sectarian groups discontent with the activity of the General Council was the demand to forgo any "political action which does not have as its immediate and direct aim the triumph of the workers' cause against Capital" (p. 275). This point in their programme lay behind their attacks on the General Council's attitude to the Irish question, etc. (pp. 358-61).

The Bakuninist dogma that the working class should abstain from political struggle, a dogma based on a failure to understand the class nature of the state, on the idea that the immediate abolition of the state should be the first and last step of the proletarian revolution, could have had irreparable harm on the working-class movement. Thus, commencing with the circular "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland", the Council directed its main blow against this dogma that might disarm the proletariat before the ruling classes of Europe.

In the fight against Bakunin, the General Council received a good deal of assistance from the Russian section of the First International. It was set up in Geneva in March 1870 by a group of young Russian political émigrés from among middle-class intellectuals brought up on the ideas of the revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. On March 22, the Council admitted the Russian section to the International and, at the request of the Committee of this section, Marx became its representative on the General Council (pp. 219, 366-67). At the congress at

La Chaux-de-Fonds members of the Russian section opposed vigorously Bakunin's dissentient policy.

In the strained international situation at the end of the sixties the war threat was constantly the centre of attention of the General Council. The proletariat's attitude to wars was most eloquently formulated in the General Council's Address to the National Labour Union of the United States, written by Marx. The Address stated that war could hurl back for an indefinite period the growing movement of the working class, that it would be advantageous only to the exploiting classes which wanted to set the workers of one country against those of another so as to destroy their "growing international co-operation". Further, it stressed that "the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war" (p. 321).

At its last meeting, before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, the General Council again discussed the workers' attitude to wars and, in particular, a proposal concerning the practical means of doing away with standing armies. Marx included this question in the Mainz Congress programme in the following terms: "Reconsideration by the Congress of the means to suppress war" (p. 373).

This book also contains evidence of the successful growth of the International's organisations in various countries. The many years of struggle waged by Marx and Engels, and their followers—Bebel, Liebknecht and others—led at the end of the sixties to great success for the ideas of the International in Germany. Bebel, Liebknecht and their supporters inspired the German workers with proletarian internationalism and class solidarity with the workers of all other countries. Before the congress of workers' societies in Nuremberg, Bebel, on July 23, 1868, asked the

General Council to send delegates to the congress and wrote in this connection: "We intend to propose to the congress to adopt the programme of the International Association ... and to propose also to affiliate our organisation to the International." The General Council's contacts with the German working-class movement grew considerably in these years: the Executive Committee of the League of Workers' Unions, elected in Nuremberg, was empowered to act as the International's Executive Committee in Germany (p. 33). At the Eisenach Congress held in 1869 there was created, for the first time in the history of the world working-class movement, a mass workers' party whose programme was based on the principles of the International; the party itself was actually a branch of the International Association. The formation of the Social-Democratic Party took the German working-class movement to a new stage, making it a political force to be reckoned with both at home and abroad. Marx and Engels attached great importance to speeches made in the North German Reichstag by the workers' representatives in defence of the workers' interests. Marx drew the Council's attention to the courage of Bebel who, in a country where workers' organisations were forbidden by law to affiliate to any foreign societies, stood up in the Reichstag and openly declared himself to be a defender and active member of the International Working Men's Association (p. 82).

Marx and Engels constantly supported the German Social-Democrats in their fight against the sectarian, splitting position taken by leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers, headed by Schweitzer. "His artificial, *sectarian* organisation is opposed to the *historical and spontaneous organisation* of the working *class*," Marx wrote in the circular "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (p. 362).

As is evident from this volume, the activity of the General Council as a Federal Council of the International for Britain brought considerable results; its connections with the workers' societies and business contacts with the London Trades Council expanded greatly (pp. 281-83); in 1869 the Birmingham Congress of British Trade Unions approved the activity of the International and strongly recommended all workers' societies to join (p. 151).

The upsurge of the Irish rebellion, the work of the General Council, and the broadening of the British workers' contacts with their comrades on the Continent via the General Council, enabled leading representatives of the British workers to set up their own independent organisation on the basis of the International's programme. In October 1869 the Land and Labour League came into being. Its Executive Committee included several General Council members and its programme, formulated by Eccarius with Marx's participation, was influenced by decisions taken at congresses of the International (pp. 345-51). Marx thought the League could play an important part in revolutionising the British workers and in preparing the soil for the formation of a workers' party in Britain. As he wrote to Engels on October 30, 1869, "one of the consequences of the Basle Congress must be the formation of the *Land and Labour League* (set up, incidentally, directly by the General Council), through which the workers' party is making a complete break with the bourgeoisie, and whose starting-point is nationalisation of land".

However, because of the strong reformist trend in the British working-class movement represented by the labour aristocracy, and because of the conciliatory and chauvinistic attitude of trade union leaders, the League more and more came under bourgeois influence and gradually parted company with the International.

Discussion of the Irish question, conducted by the General Council at Marx's suggestion in November and December 1869, coupled with the extensive campaign in defence of the condemned Fenian revolutionaries, had a big effect in freeing many British labour leaders from chauvinism and nationalistic prejudices and promoted their class awareness. When the British Government's behaviour over the question of an Irish amnesty was discussed, the chauvinistic trade union leaders and General Council members, Odger and Mottershead, found themselves isolated. The Council unanimously passed a resolution severely condemning the behaviour of Gladstone's government over the amnesty question (pp. 178-84, 185-90, 192-93).

The General Council was unable to discuss the attitude of British workers to the Irish question (p. 177) because of Marx's illness, but the essence of the question is given in a short record of Marx's speech made on December 14, 1869: "He considered the solution of the Irish question as the solution of the English, and the English as the solution of the European" (p. 196). A more detailed exposition of the proletariat's position in relation to the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples on the Irish example was provided by Marx in the circular "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (pp. 358-61), and in a number of letters to leaders of the world working-class movement written in 1869 and 1870.

Marx emphasised that giving the Irish the right to decide their own fate was a necessary condition for emancipating the workers in Britain itself. "Only by putting forward this demand was Marx really educating the English workers in the spirit of internationalism," Lenin was to write later (*Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 149-50). Lenin held that in the interests of its own freedom the proletariat of an exploiting nation is in duty bound to fight against the policy of national oppression and considered this to be

the basic principle of internationalism and socialism. From experience of supporting the fight of the Irish people for independence, Marx and Engels drew up a programme and tactics of the workers' party in relation to the national liberation movement. They maintained that oppressed peoples must be given the right to self-determination, thus laying the cornerstone for the national policy of the workers' party.

The Minutes also contain valuable material which throws light on the role of the General Council in strengthening the sections of the International in France when a revolutionary situation was maturing in the country on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war. The French workers were once again coming to the fore. Growing trade organisations united in a federation in Paris; for the elections to the Legislative Corps in May 1869, the French workers came out with their own election programme, which bore the imprint of ideas of the International (p. 95). The creation of federations of the International in Paris, Rouen and Lyons (pp. 218, 228, etc.), the mounting influence of the Left-wing Proudhonists (Varlin and others), the increasingly active participation of workers in the political struggle, the publication of a faithful translation of the Rules of the International Association, and other facts were evidence of the extension of the sphere of influence of the International's ideas.

A great deal of work in reinforcing the French sections of the International, ideologically and organisationally, against petty-bourgeois sectarianism and anarchism was done by the close associates of Marx and Engels, Eugène Dupont, Corresponding Secretary for France, and Paul Lafargue who moved to Paris in 1868 and played an important part in popularising scientific socialism in France. Lafargue actively participated in the formation of the Paris Federation and, after the arrest of its leaders,

became the General Council's special correspondent in France (p. 240).

The General Council roundly condemned the adventuristic activity of the so-called French Federal branch in London which by its calls for terrorist acts against Napoleon III provided the French police with an excuse for repressions against leaders of the French workers (pp. 83, 236). One of the paramount principles of Marxism which the International strictly observed is that internal forces of social revolution must evolve in each country, not be imposed from without, that one should rely on the maturity and forces of the working class itself in the given country, not on the policy of conspiracy and terror. The International learned this principle from historical experience and built its tactics accordingly.

As is evident from the Minutes, these years saw a great growth and consolidation of ties between the General Council and the American labour movement (pp. 212, 219, 241, etc.); Cameron, delegate of the biggest American workers' organisation—the National Labour Union—took part in the work of the Basle Congress and chaired one of the Council meetings in London on his way to the United States (p. 156).

The General Council regarded the chief aim of the American sections of the International to be the fight for the unity of the worker-émigrés of different nationalities with the long-standing workers of America. In a letter to Hume, correspondent of the Association in New York, Eccarius wrote: "One of our aims is to eliminate whatever may yet remain of national antipathies ... from the minds of working men.... We cannot admit that either French or Germans have an opposite or special interest from any other workmen, and we always urge them on to take an active part in, and identify themselves with, the movement of the working men of the country in which they reside, particularly in America" (pp. 243-44).

The Minutes contain a wealth of documentary material depicting the role of Marx as leader of the International Working Men's Association. Despite his grave illness and vast academic work he took a regular part in the activities of the General Council. All the most important documents of the General Council included in this volume, as earlier, were either penned by Marx or edited by him. Marx's authority as an outstanding theoretician, his scientifically-argumented and dialectical speeches on complex problems concerning the Association's programme and practical work determined the outcome of discussions and the main line of the Council's activity. Even the brief and often incomplete records of many of Marx's speeches contain important ideas on the theory and tactics of the working-class movement. As Corresponding Secretary for Germany and representative of the Russian section and the German-speaking sections in the United States, Marx conducted extensive correspondence with various cities of Europe and America, kept contact with the Belgian working-class movement through De Paepe and with the French through Lafargue, participated in the fulfilment of practical tasks connected with the British working-class movement, etc. (pp. 35, 40, 64, 70, 161, 172-73, etc.). Relying on his experience and knowledge he helped Council members to take correct decisions.

Uncompromising in ideological struggle, Marx taught Council members to pay careful attention to people, and fought against any subjective prejudices affecting the settlement of matters of principle. In March 1870, the Standing Committee, in connection with a conflict in the Lyons section between the old members of the section and Richard, a friend of Bakunin's, passed a resolution which had great significance for the whole of the working-class movement. In this resolution the General Council reminded all members of the Association that before any publication or any public action the Council should be ap-

prised of it; if that was not done it was likely to excite personal animosities and produce divisions in the proletarian ranks, and could only be useful to the adversaries of the working class (pp. 215-16). Marx advised not to sow discord among the workers and their organisations, always to seek unity of action and of opinion, emphasising that any unprincipled discussions were only playing into the hands of the workers' enemies.

Engels was not on the General Council until autumn 1870, because he lived in Manchester at the time, but he did take an active part in elaborating the tactics of the International, helped Marx in composing many documents (pp. 302-09), and discussed in letters and in personal conversation with Marx all the more important aspects of the International's activity. Together with Marx, Engels elaborated the tactics of the General Council concerning Bakunin and the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, leadership of the German working class, and all the vital problems confronting the British, French and American working-class movement.

The documents show that a firm nucleus of proletarian revolutionaries had formed in the General Council, men who adhered to the ideas of scientific communism and who had acquired rich theoretical and practical experience in guiding the world working-class movement. The numerous speeches by Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Robert Shaw and others demonstrate their political maturity as workers' leaders. Thanks to Marx, the General Council was able to adopt an independent proletarian stand on all the essential questions of theory and tactics for the world working-class movement.

The section "Documents of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" contains valuable documents of the General Council for the period from the autumn of 1868 to July 14, 1870. Most of them were written or edited by Marx. The volume also includes those

of the resolutions of the Geneva and Brussels congresses which may be considered as part of the platform of principles of the International Working Men's Association.

Other General Council documents of this period may be found in the Explanatory Notes at the end of the book.

* * *

The complete text of the General Council Minutes for the period between September 22, 1868, and July 12, 1870, is published here, for the first time in the original, in accordance with photo-copies of the Minute Books in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in Moscow. The Minutes were first published by the Institute in Russian in a book entitled *The General Council of the First International, 1868-1870. Minutes*, Moscow, 1964.

The Minutes of General Council meetings between September 22, 1868, and August 31, 1869, recorded on 94 foolscap pages, complete the second Minute Book whose original is at the London Bishopsgate Institute. The Minutes from September 14, 1869 to July 12, 1870 are recorded on the first 88 pages of the third Minute Book which was formerly kept in the archives of the German Social-Democrats and is now at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. The Minutes were as a rule recorded by Eccarius who at this time performed the duties of General Secretary of the Council. In his absence for reasons of illness, Jung wrote down the Minutes.

The footnotes show the condition of the manuscript, its specific features and other textological remarks; they also give the names of persons not mentioned in the text itself, references to other pages in the text, etc.

The notes at the end of the book provide a more detailed explanation of the published material. In their compilation, use has largely been made of the Marx-Engels correspondence, their letters to active members of the Interna-

tional and the correspondence between other members of the General Council and leaders of the International—all this taken chiefly from material kept at the Central Party Archives and the Library of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Wide use has also been made of matter from the International's press. In particular, publication of the General Council Minutes in *The Bee-Hive* and other papers is mentioned, and a very careful reading of the newspaper accounts has been made with the texts of the Minutes manuscripts.

The present volume is also furnished with a name index, an index of periodicals, an index of addresses and geographical names, and an appendix, which contains the English translation of General Council documents written in other languages.

The contents and arrangement of this volume correspond to those of the above-mentioned Russian edition of 1964 prepared for publication by Valentina Smirnova and Tatyana Vassilyeva, under the general editorship of Irene Bach, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The originals for the English edition have been deciphered by Nina Nepomnyashchaya, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the volume has been prepared for publication by our editor, Lydia Belyakova.

No alterations have been made in the text, apart from corrections of obvious slips of the pen, misspelt words, and biographical and geographical names. Almost all abbreviations have been written out, and in some places supplementary words in square brackets have been inserted to render the text clearer to the reader.

THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

(September 22, 1868-July 12, 1870)

[*1868*]

MEETING OF THE NEW COUNCIL[1]

*September 22**

Members present: *Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft,* [Mrs.] *Law, Marx, Bernard, Lafargue, Limburg, Johannard, Weston.*

(*Eccarius* read a letter from the Sunday League[2] inviting the Council to co-operate in a discussion of the Sunday question).

H. Jung in the chair.

Eccarius announced that Congress had again appointed London as the seat of the Council and the following members had been unanimously elected as the Executive** for the ensuing year:

R. Applegarth	Lessner
Bernard	Limburg
Buckley	Law, Harriet
Cohn	Marx
Copeland	Maurice
Dell	Milner
Dupont	Odger
Eccarius	Stepney, Cowell
Fox	Shaw
Hales	Walton
Howell	Weston
Jung	Williams
Lafargue	Zabicki.[3]

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 159-63 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Of the General Council.—*Ed.*

It was then agreed that the names be published and the resolutions passed by the Congress urging the branches to carry out § 4 of the Regulations and that § 8 of the said Regulations shall be strictly adhered to at the next Congress.[4]

Cit. *Marx* announced that he had received a letter from Essen in Germany announcing a strike of 1,300 miners to recover a reduction of wages, and applying for pecuniary assistance.

An opinion was expressed that at present there was very little hope of getting money and Cit. Marx was instructed to reply to the letter to that effect.

Cit. Marx also stated that he had received a note from the Secretary* of the Working Men's Institute, Boston, U.S., that the members of that association desired to enter into correspondence with the Council.[5]

Cit. *Jung* stated that the tin-plate workers who had agreed to join about twelve months ago[6] had voted some money and also written some letters which seemed to have miscarried in consequence of the Council having shifted its quarters several times in the interval.[7] He handed in the name of the Secretary and the address of the place of meeting.

Eccarius called attention to an American working men's election address published in the Chicago *W[orkingman's] A[dvocate]*[8] and read some extracts from it.

Eccarius then gave a brief account of his mission to Nuremberg[9] stating that he had been exceedingly gratified with the tact the German working men had acquired during the short time they had been in possession of the liberty of publicly meeting. The question of joining the International Association had been carried by 68 against 46, the minority consisting of men who were afraid to meddle with politics. As he had been obliged to leave for Brussels

* Randall.—*Ed.*

the moment the question had been decided he could not say what further steps had been taken.

Cit. *Marx* stated that a committee of 16 had subsequently been appointed to carry out the resolution and to act as the Executive Committee of the International Working Men's Association for Germany, and they had applied for power to act as such.

Cit. *Lucraft* proposed and Mrs. *Law* seconded that the said Committee be empowered [to] act as the Executive for Germany. The proposition was agreed to.

Cit. *Jung* then gave an account of his mission to Brussels. He said: I arrived Sunday morning and went to the Swans' Hotel where the Brussels section was engaged with verifying credentials. I had to help, the English delegates had not yet arrived. A meeting had been arranged at the National Circus Theatre to commence at two o'clock but it was three o'clock before proceedings commenced. I accepted the office of chairman for that day. I gave a brief account of our doings during the past year[10] and then called upon the delegates to do the same for their respective localities. Those statements were intended for the public. Stepney, Lucraft and Dupont who had in the meantime put in an appearance spoke, Stepney representing himself as of the Reform League[11] on the road to the Peace Congress at Berne.[12] Next morning at the Swans' the Congress Committee was appointed, the proceedings were rather tedious, most of the delegates spoke French and everything was translated in French. It was rather hard work as there was a great diversity of opinion.

Lucraft said there was a little confusion but if Jung had stopped, the English delegates would have fared better. It would be better if in future a professional translator could be engaged, there would be a better chance of having one's opinion properly conveyed. I do not believe that the essential points of the speeches were translated. I was rather out of order by falling foul of standing armies, but

I do not regret it,[13] I think it has done good. There were many opinions expressed which I did not like, but I think in the long run we will arrive at sound conclusions. We are young yet. I believe we will accomplish our end.

Eccarius said the great difficulty is the great infusion of young men at every Congress. There was a remarkable absence of those who were present at former Congresses. Belgium was only represented by one delegate at the Congress of Lausanne, but the rapid progress the Association has made since then in Belgium has introduced a prodigious number of young men, who formed almost a predominating party at the Congress.[14] It is only natural that they should treat some questions, about which our minds were made up years ago, as something new and argue them with all the fervour of youth and novelty. It is tedious to the old ones but it cannot be avoided. Trades Unionism for instance which to English workmen has assumed the form of an ordinary business necessity has only been lately taken up in Belgium; the workmen there treat it as [a] new idea, it pervades all their resolutions, all their speeches, they are going to cure everything by trades unions.

Cit. *Milner* asked whether Eccarius had not confounded someone's scheme with the doings of the late Bronterre O'Brien in his speech on the credit question. Bronterre O'Brien had never instituted anything.

Eccarius said he had not stated anything of the kind in his speech but that he had alluded to Bronterre O'Brien as one who had devoted a good deal of his time to the question, but his writings and speeches had not tended to any practical results, and that the proposition then before the Congress would in his opinion share the same fate.

Cit. *Lessner* said: when I arrived at the station I found no one to receive me, I found no one at the Swans' Hotel. De Paepe came at last and took me away as I was to the big meeting and I was called upon to speak and spoke

several times. Next morning everything seemed to have been arranged by the Brussels section. There was a great deal of misunderstanding. The French-speaking delegates are generally noisy when English or German speeches are delivered. Much time was lost by the resolutions having to be brought on in the morning's meetings. We carried our points because some of the Belgians forsook their leaders. A professional translator is required. In future the Council must make different arrangements, the Brussels arrangements were deficient.

Jung had not availed himself of the preparations made for the reception of delegates but he thought the arrangements had been deficient. He did not endorse the opinion of engaging a professional translator.

Cit. *Marx* said: we have heard nothing but censure of the French but we must bear in mind that it was an act of courage on their part to be present at the Congress at all and that any shortcoming in their tact in deliberative assemblies is owing to the circumstances by which they are surrounded.

Mrs. *Law* read a leading article from the *Morning Advertiser* refuting the assertions of the *Times* respecting the question of strikes and machinery.[15]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman

*COUNCIL MEETING**

September 29[16]

Members present: *Buckley, Bernard, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Applegarth, Lessner, Lucraft, Lafargue, Marx, Weston*, Mrs. *Law, Milner.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting read and confirmed.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 163-64 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* stated that the strike at Essen* was at an end, the men having succeeded.

Letter from Pelletier, New York, acknowledged the receipt of the Lausanne Congress reports.[17] About Cit. Isard he stated that he was an active worker and an honest man, and that what has been said about him is untrue.

A German, Dr. Hirsch, has declared that all the principal trades unions of England had withdrawn from the International Association.**

Cit. *Applegarth* stated there was no truth in the statement as far as he knew. He wished to know what position he held on the Council, if he was elected by the Congress he would take his seat and do his duty.

The *Chairman* informed him that he was elected by the Congress.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Dupont* seconded that 24 copies of the proceedings of the Congress be ordered.[18]

Lucraft proposed, *Dupont* seconded, that Eccarius be General Secretary. Carried on.

Marx proposed Cowell Stepney as Treasurer.

Lessner seconded. Carried on.

Cit. *Applegarth* proposed, *Cohn* seconded, that the secretaries for the various countries be reappointed. Carried on.

Cit. *Dupont* proposed, *Lessner* seconded, that Bernard be appointed Secretary for Belgium. Carried on.

Cit. *Weston* proposed, *Lucraft* seconded, that the General Secretary take the correspondence with the National Labour Union[19] and other English-speaking associations of America. Carried on.

Cit. *Marx* proposed, *Dupont* seconded, that Siegfried Meyer and Pelletier at New York be nominated corresponding members for America for the French and German languages. Carried unanimously.[20]

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* See p. 32 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 281-83 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Mr. *Dodson*, Secretary of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, presented a letter from the Liverpool Shoemakers complaining against some Prussians working against the Union men and asking the assistance of the Council by communicating the fact to Germany.

Eccarius was instructed to write a letter to be communicated to the Germans at Liverpool.

Cit. *Cohn* reported that he had succeeded in inducing the Cigar-Makers of Brussels to form a trades union and to join the International Association. He had also entered into communication with the Cigar-Makers of Antwerp. About the Congress he was of Lessner's opinion that a professional translator was required. The questions had not been sufficiently discussed by the Council before the delegates went to the Congress and therefore they could not state the opinion of the Council. His employer had done differently to Eccarius's; he had had a long conversation with him and expressed his readiness to enter into industrial partnership upon certain condition.[21]

Cit. *Weston* thought that the best thing that could be done was to commence the discussion at once upon the best means of establishing co-operation.

The question of answering the letter of the Sunday League was then raised. After some conversation it was proposed to appoint a deputation of three to give information, and to inform them that if the League calls a meeting,* delegates will be appointed to take part in the discussion. Unanimously carried.

Lafargue proposed that Jung, Lessner, Sahlman and Dupont be appointed. Unanimously carried.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.***

* See p. 38 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Lucraft and Jung carried out the duties of acting chairman and secretary at the following General Council meeting.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

6 October 1868

Members present: *Bernard, Marx, Dupont,* Mrs. *Law, Johannard, Lafargue, Milner, Lucraft, Jung.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read, when *Lafargue* observed that he was sorry to see** that the Secretary had omitted the remarks that he made, at the previous meeting, concerning Cit. Eccarius. Cit. Lafargue then repeated his remarks and insisted that they should be inserted in that evening's Minutes. Cit. Lafargue asked Eccarius for what reason he attributed to himself at the Brussels Congress and in the *Times* the resolution of the General Council on machinery.[22] Eccarius said that it was by mistake because he was so much confused. But Lafargue answered him that he could not believe that assertion because the reports of Eccarius in the *Times* were too well written and his suppressions too arbitrary and cleverly done.[23]

Marx then proposed, *Dupont* seconded, the adoption and the Minutes were confirmed.

A letter was read from Cit. Dell wherein he stated that he could not devote any time at present for the International as his time was taken up by the Reform League; Cit. *Marx* proposed and Mrs. *Law* seconded that the Secretary should answer his letter; adopted unanimously.

A letter was read from the Sunday League fixing Thursday, 22 October, for the meeting of the members of the joint committee on the Continental Sunday.

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* The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 164-66 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the words "that Eccarius" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

A letter was read from Cit. Eccarius stating that he was unable to attend, being too ill to go out and asking to be informed whether the printing of the Congress reports had been completed by the editor of the *Peuple Belge*.

Proposed by *Lafargue* and seconded by *Dupont* that the instructions of the General Council given at Geneva be printed with the Brussels resolutions*; adopted unanimously.

Cit. *Jung* thought that we ought to send an address to Cit. Odger with a view of furthering his election to Parliament,[24] if we could do so without sacrificing our dignity; Cit. *Milner* was in favour but on the condition that we remind him that he is there to discuss the labour questions; *Marx* thought that a simple working man was not much use in the House, but thought that it might be useful for this Association.

Lucraft made some remarks in favour of the address being sent; *Jung* then proposed and *Marx* seconded that an address be sent; adopted unanimously.

Marx was appointed to make a draft of said address; adopted unanimously.

Dupont made a notice of motion that a librarian be appointed.

Cit. *Weston* remarked that a discussion had been opened "on the employment of the unemployed poor" at the Adelphi Club on Saturday evenings; he desired the working classes to be informed of it so that they should attend.

The meeting then adjourned.

Council meeting, October the 6th.

J. COHN, Chairman

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

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* See pp. 284-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 13th

Members present: *Marx, Johannard, Jung, Dupont, Lafargue, Lucraft, Limburg, Lessner, Milner* and *Odger.*

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

Cit. *Marx* announced that trades unions on the model of the English trades unions were being formed throughout Germany.

Cit. Marx then read the address to Odger.

Cit. *Lucraft* read a statement from *The Star* where it appeared Odger had stated, at a meeting of the electors and non-electors of Chelsea, that if he were returned to the House he would not simply go there as a representative of labour but that he would give his unflinching support to the great Liberal Party; Cit. Lucraft hoped Odger's speech was wrongly reported, else he would be compelled to withdraw his support from the address, for he would never support a man who was pledged to any government or any party.

Cit. *Odger* replied that he was most improperly reported, he had said he would support Mr. Gladstone in the Irish Church question[25]; upon being proposed by *Lessner,* seconded by *Lucraft,* the address was agreed to.

Cit. *Odger* then stated that a delegate meeting would take place, on the following evening, to take into consideration a bill** whose object it is to amend the law concerning trades unions, their funds, etc.[26]

Lessner proposed and *Lafargue* seconded that Marx, Dupont and Jung compose that deputation; adopted.

Chairman***

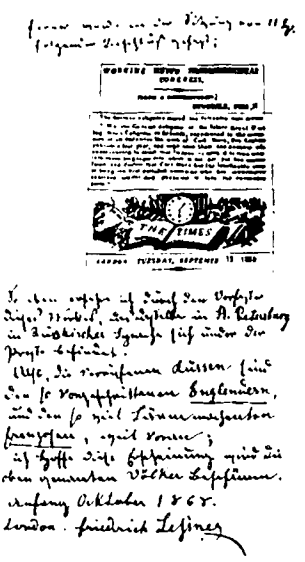
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

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* The Minutes are in Jung's hand on p. 166a of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the words "framed by some trades unions" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*



Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner
1867.

Title page of Friedrich Lessner's copy of Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I[27]

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 20th, 1868

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Zabicki, Lessner, Marx, Limburg, Weston, Bernard, Johannard* and *Jung.*

Cit. *Cohn* in the chair.

The Minutes of the two previous meetings were read and confirmed.

A long and interesting letter was read from Cit. Jessup, New York; it referred chiefly to their late Congress and stated that our Congress reports** did not arrive in time to be submitted to their Congress.[28]

Cit. *Dupont* stated that he had received a letter from a late member of the French branch in London,[29] now in New York, who says that the reports circulated concerning Isard were a tissue of falsehoods; the writer also stated that he had attempted to make some propaganda for our Association, but had found out that it was useless unless he were provided with credentials from the General Council.

Cit. *Dupont* stated that Cit. Lagauche, who was present, wished to make a statement concerning a member of the committee of the French branch.***

Cit. *Lagauche* stated that in 1848 he had known Cit. Eugène Thiou, who was clerk to Arlès, the man-dealer, that the said Thiou used to act in conjunction with brothel-keepers in order to rob the prostitutes of their money, that he had witnesses who had also known Eugène Thiou in the same character in Paris, among whom was Alise, a turner.

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* The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 167-69 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Of the Brussels Congress of the International.—*Ed.*

*** Further the following words are crossed out in the MS: "named Thiou, who had been banished from France for having committed acts of the gravest immorality".—*Ed.*

Cit. Lagauche was greatly surprised to see such a man taking a prominent part in such an Association and he thought it deterred many from joining; many of his friends had complained to him about Thiou, still he did not consider it his business to interfere until he saw Thiou's name appended to some bills (as member of a committee of the International) calling upon all democrats to attend a meeting under the auspices of the Int. W.M.A. Cit. Lagauche attended said meeting and told the chairman, Cit. Besson, that in case *Thiou* should appear on the platform he would expose him publicly. Cit. Besson begged of Cit. Lagauche not to make any noise about it, promising that he would prevent Thiou from coming on the platform.

Subsequently he [Lagauche] appeared before the French branch and there made the same statement that he was now making. Cit. Thiou denied that he was the man, saying there were other Thious. He admitted being banished from France for having been compromised in a bad house robbery, known under the name of "*robbery Valentin*", but stated that nothing being proved against him, the police, out of spite, had him banished as a keeper of bad women. Cit. Lagauche had brought the matter forward on public ground and disclaimed all personal feeling on the subject.

Cit. *Marx* [proposed] and *Lessner* seconded that the matter be referred to the Sub-Committee. Carried unanimously.

Marx next read from a bill convoking a meeting whose object would be to decide "whether the International W. M. Ass. should become a political association".[30]

The *Chairman* thought the matter most important and said such an announcement, made on the part of a few members only, most impudent. Referred to [the] Sub-Committee.

It was then moved by Cit. *Weston*, seconded by *Lessner*, that powers be granted to the Sub-Committee to act at

once in this matter in case of need. Adopted unanimously.

Marx proposed that Cit. Cohn be added to the Sub-Committee. Adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman*

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

November 3d, 1868

Cit. *Dupont* in the chair.

Members present: *Townshend, Weston, Marx, Jung, Buckley, Johannard, Limburg, Bernard* and *Odger.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Cit. Eccarius in which he stated he had drawn up the report of the Congress[31] as determined by a resolution of the***; he feared it would be some time before he would be able to attend the meetings.

Marx announced the formation of a democratic workingmen's club at Berlin, which had declared against Schulze-Delitzsch, against Schweitzer and against the government.[32]

Jung read extracts from an address sent by the Paris**** branches of the Int. W.M.A. to the Spanish working men expressing a hope that their revolution will be not simply a political one, but an economical one.[33]

Weston proposed and *Johannard* seconded that an address be prepared and be held in readiness to be sent to the Spanish *Cortes*. Adopted unanimously.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 169-71 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** A gap in the Minutes.—*Ed.*

**** An error. Reference is to the Swiss branches.—*Ed.*

Weston proposed and *Jung* seconded that Marx should write the said address; adopted unanimously.

Jung stated that he could ill afford the time required for the proper fulfilment of the extra labours devolved upon him through the illness of the General Secretary* and he hoped someone would be appointed provisionally to fill the place; after some discussion he said he had no objection to write out the Minutes of the meetings of the Council, but he hoped somebody would be appointed to write the reports to the *Bee-Hive*.

It was then shown that the Congress reports would take up a few weeks and the matter [was] dropped.

The first part of the report was then read and adopted and Citizen Weston was appointed to get it inserted in the *Bee-Hive* and to make arrangements with the editors with a view of printing 1,000 copies of these reports.

Jung proposed and *Weston* seconded that Marx be appointed to revise the translation of the remainder of the report; adopted unanimously.

The *Secretary for Belgium*** then read a letter from Bruxelles. A committee had been appointed by the Congress to inquire into certain charges made by Cit. Vésinier against certain members of the I.W.M.A. Cit. Vésinier had one month accorded to him to prepare his defence,*** but although he promised to supply the proofs in support of the charges made by him, he failed to do so and the committee had to investigate the matter without the proofs; after a patient and lengthy investigation the committee adopted the following conclusions unanimously with but two dissentients (one abstaining and the other voting against): the committee fail to discover the slightest trace of truth in the charges made by Cit. Vésinier and they

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* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** Bernard.—*Ed.*

*** Further the following words are crossed out in the MS: "and to supply the proofs in support of his charges".—*Ed.*

consider him unworthy of belonging to an Association which has for basis: Morality, Justice and Truth.

Johannard proposed and *Marx* seconded that the Belgian Secretary should ask the committee to insert the decision in the papers and to communicate it to the French branch[34]; adopted unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman*
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

November 10, 1868

Cit. *Lessner* in the chair.

Members present: *Lucraft, Stepney, Shaw, Johannard, Jung, Dupont, Limburg, Bernard.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The second part of the report was then read.***

Cit. *Lucraft* thought that the**** resolution concerning strikes was somewhat altered from the original; but on being compared to the French it was found to be a good translation; Cit. Lucraft said that the resolution had been softened down and that he had no objection to it now; at first it was sought to pledge the Association to do certain things, but now it was left more to the members.

Cit. *Jung* proposed and *Shaw* seconded the report to be adopted; adopted unanimously.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 171-72 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** See pp. 39, 43, 292-97 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

**** Further the word "first" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

Dupont proposed that we should insert in the report that the labour statistic is still open and inviting societies to send in their reports.[35] Seconded by *Jung*; adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman*

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*[36]

*COUNCIL MEETING***

November 24, 1868

Cit. *Shaw* in the chair.

Members present: *Lucraft, Dupont, Hales, Buckley, Weston, Marx, Milner, Lessner, Jung, Stepney.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Marx read a letter from Saxony from some miners who wish to join the Association[37] of which they had read in different papers but especially in a book (by W. Eichhoff)[38]; they agree with the principles of the I.W.M.A. and think their country would be a fair field for propagating those principles.*** Cit. W. Jungnickel, President of the Lugau branch of the Miners' Association, brought the subject before the committee of the Lugau, Würschnitz and Oelsnitz branches, when they unanimously agreed to join the Association and authorised Cit. W. Jungnickel and G. A. Bachmann to get the proper information in order to enable them to join.****

Since the year 1865 the desirability of having a common fund between the miners of this place and the surrounding

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The first part of the Minutes is in Jung's hand on pp. 172-73 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Further the words "they authorised" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

**** On pp. 173-74 the Minutes are in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

districts was felt, but many difficulties are in the way, the chief one is that all the collieries, whether they are worked by companies or private individuals, have a fund of their own towards which every miner is obliged to contribute; the masters keeping the entire control of the fund without being in any way obliged to contribute towards it; at the same time the master is at liberty to discharge his men without the men having any claim to a fund to which they may have contributed half their lifetime; before they can begin work in a new pit they must pay an entrance fee varying according to age from 5s. to £6, which entrance fee must be paid during the first six months of their stay; in case of illness the allowance they get from the fund is not enough to sustain life; the same is the case when they get incapacitated from overwork, through accident, or old age; they are even liable to be struck off the books simply for displeasing the master; the consequence of this state of things is worse for old men than for young ones, for if they leave or are discharged from a pit, besides losing all their contributions, they stand very little chance of getting any work. Some of those funds have accumulated so much as £5,000. The only way to remedy this evil is to amalgamate all those funds into one to be under the control of the workmen themselves. A petition was drawn up, signed by seven thousand miners, and two committees were appointed with the view of accomplishing this object. In spite of a three years' fight no result has yet been obtained, and the plan proposed by the president that a petition should be sent to the government convinces the workmen that nothing will be done, as they know what to expect from that quarter and that their salvation can only come from the union of the working classes of the whole world; if Lugau has joined with only two thousand men it is certain that Zwickau will soon join with seven thousand, and Potschappel will join with as many more; in conclusion the writer mentions [that] Lugau belongs to

the 19th electoral district which is represented in the North-German Parliament by W. Liebknecht, Karl Marx's friend.

Weston then explained about his mission to the *Bee-Hive**; he called many times without finding anybody at home; Potter advised him not to keep the type unless it were to print some slips as there would be no saving if the report was published in a pamphlet form.

Milner spoke about a dinner that is to be given to Reverdy Johnson, the American Minister, and he asked if the Council would take any part in it.

Lucraft asked by whom the dinner was to be given; he said there were workmen who never worked; he disliked workmen who live by their wits instead of their work.

Hales said that Allan, who was one of the prompters, had the right to call himself a representative man, and that it was well known that dinners were only an excuse for speechmaking.

Marx replied that speeches were often an excuse for dinners and that Johnson did not represent the working classes of America.

Jung said that promoters of the said dinner were well aware of the existence of the I.W.A. and if they wanted us to take part in it they ought to have communicated with us, and until they do so no steps ought to be taken; the matter [was] then dropped.

Weston then said he had heard of the death of Mazzini** and should the report be confirmed he would move that an address be written condoling for the great loss we had sustained in the death of Mazzini.

Jung was opposed to any address being written by the Council; however much he admired him as a patriot and a middle-class republican, he knew him to be opposed to

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* See p. 44 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The remainder of the Minutes is in Jung's hand on p. 175 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the class struggle that was going on; while we are the leaders of one class, he is one of the leaders of the other class and as such only could we treat him in an address.

After a few remarks by *Marx* and *Hales* the matter [was] dropped.

Lessner was requested to call upon Eccarius in order that we should know whether the papers were still sent to America and Belgium; *Shaw* at the same time said that if Eccarius could not come himself he ought to send the books so that we should know what is our financial position.

The meeting then adjourned.

Chairman*

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

1 December 1868

Cit. *Shaw* in the chair.

Members present: *Buckley, Hales, Dupont, Marx, Johannard, Bernard, Lessner, Stepney, Limburg, Jung.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Cit. Applegarth inviting the Council to send a delegate to a meeting convened for the purpose of deciding what form the reception of Mr. Reverdy Johnson should assume.

Jung saw no objection to sending a delegate whose mission should be to oppose such a demonstration.

Marx thought Johnson did not represent the working classes of America; by shaking hands with Laird he had

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 175-77 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

betrayed his country; the northern press of America was protesting against his doings in England, and he then spoke of a letter, in the *Daily News* of the 1st December, written by an American, as showing the spirit entertained by Americans towards Johnson's conduct; Marx concluded by saying the working classes ought not to go in the wake of the upper and middle classes.

After a few remarks by the *Chairman* a resolution proposed by *Marx* and seconded by *Dupont* "that a delegate be sent to act in conformity with the views expressed by the different speakers" was unanimously adopted; Marx proposed and Dupont seconded that Shaw and Jung be appointed*; adopted unanimously.

Marx read a letter from Liebknecht stating that the new rules had been drawn up on the model of the Rules sent from England, but with some modifications so as to bring them more in accord with the decisions of our congresses, and that he had called upon the 50,000 men who had adhered to our Association to reconstitute themselves on that new plan.

Jung announced the formation of new branches at San Francisco, U.S.A.; one at Siegburg, Prussia; Lörrach and Seckingen, Baden; Rheinfelden, Switzerland; and one at Lutzelflüh, Switzerland; two sections composed exclusively of ladies had been formed, one at Geneva, the other at Basle.

The propriety of having the plate altered was then discussed and a form was agreed to[39]; *Marx* proposed and *Dupont* seconded that 1,000 cards be printed, and Jung was authorised to see Mr. Cottam about it; adopted unanimously.

Lessner proposed and *Marx* seconded that Shaw be Secretary for America; adopted unanimously.

Dupont proposed and *Johannard* seconded that Marx be

* See pp. 51-53 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

appointed keeper of archives; *Hales* wished his duties to be defined; *Jung* thought that the written correspondence would remain in the correspondents' hands and that* printed matter chiefly would be put under his [the keeper's] care; adopted unanimously.

Lessner reported about his mission to Eccarius**; Eccarius was sending the papers abroad but the books were not then made up; the *Chairman* thought the books were wanted to enable us to know our position; *Hales* proposed that Jung should write; adopted.

The meeting adjourned.

Chairman***

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING*****

8 December 1868

Members present: *Limburg, Milner, Buckley, Weston, Stepney* and *Jung.*

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Jung stated that he had received two letters from Geneva, one asking him to contribute towards the new paper, to which he had replied in the affirmative[40]; the other he thought could stand over till next week; and he then reported the result of his mission at the Johnson demonstration[41]; Mr. Coningsby said that when he saw how Mr. Johnson was feasted by the upper and middle

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* Then the words "his duties would comprise" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

** See p. 49 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

**** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 179-80 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

classes he thought the working classes ought to do something; Mr. Lloyd Jones thought that if the working classes of this country did not entertain Mr. Johnson it would be taken as an insult by the Americans; Messrs. Cooper, Worley and Beales were* opposed to entertaining Mr. Johnson, but said they were pledged to a certain extent as Mr. Johnson had been asked in the name of the working classes if a demonstration would be pleasing to him and he had answered in the affirmative. Mr. Coningsby moved that the meeting be adjourned for a week in order to give it a more representative character; Jung moved as an amendment that this meeting adjourns until Grant should assume office; no seconder being forthcoming, the amendment was lost and the resolution was carried.

The *Chairman* thought Jung ought to go again on Thursday.

The meeting then adjourned.

E. DUPONT, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

15 December 1868

Members present: *Bernard, Johannard, Dupont, Stepney, Marx, Lessner* and *Jung.*

Cit. *Dupont* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Jung reported his mission to the Johnson demonstra-

* Further the following words are crossed out in the MS: "of opinion that it would be better to let the matter drop".—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 180-82 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

tion committee and stated the failure of the attempt to fête him (Mr. Johnson).

A letter was read from Becker in which he stated that the D.A.B.V.,* who numbered 1,800 and had joined the I.W.M.A. some time past, had offered to pay as their contribution the sum of £2 per year to the General Council and £2 to the Geneva Central Committee; Becker hoped the Council would accept the offer as Liebknecht had given a bad example in Germany by publishing that societies could join the I.W.M.A. without paying any contribution.[42]

A long discussion ensued.

Jung and *Dupont* were in favour of accepting, as the same was done by most societies in England, such as the Joiners who paid £2 and the Bricklayers £1.

Johannard opposed; he did not consider it to be just to allow some to pay less than others.

Marx did not think justice consisted in making everyone pay alike whatever his means might be.

At last it was unanimously agreed that Jung be instructed to inform the D.A.B.V. that we can only accept the £4 offered as an instalment.

Marx then, referring to the second subject, stated that he had written to Liebknecht requesting him to retract what he had published about the contributions.

The letter further stated that a society calling itself "L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste" had been formed and that they had joined the I.W.M.A.; a programme with their rules was enclosed in the letter.[43]

Jung thought there were certain things in that programme to which he could not answer until he knew the opinions of the Council.

*Dupont, Johannard*** thought that this new society could

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* Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein (German Workers' Educational Association).—*Ed.*

** Here the words "and Marx" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

only be a source of weakness to the I.W.M.A.; that the very objects they sought to attain were being worked out by the I.W.M.A. in a far abler manner than ever they could by this new one.

Marx thought that it was against our Rules to admit another international association into our society.*

It was then unanimously agreed that the Secretary for Switzerland should prepare an answer by next Tuesday to submit to the meeting,[44] and it was further unanimously agreed that in order to counteract the pernicious impression produced by that manifesto the answer should be made public.

Jung read an extract from a letter Stepney had received from Robert of La Chaux-de-Fonds, by which it appears that the magistrates of Basle in Switzerland had driven from that place a member of our Association who had been leader in a strike that took place there a few weeks ago.

Dupont read letters from Lyons, Paris and Orléans. Dupont proposed that a summary of the doings of the Council since last Congress should be written and published.

Jung wished members, who made such propositions, would at the same time propose somebody to do the work; *Marx* offered to help Jung in making a short resumé of the transactions and Jung agreed to it.

Johannard said that a few weeks ago** it was decided that an address be prepared to be sent to the Spanish *Cortes* at their first assembling and he wished to know how it was proceeding.[45]

Marx said he would get it ready in time to enable the

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* This sentence was written in the margin of p. 181 of the Minute Book on approval of the Minutes at the Council meeting on December 22, 1868.—*Ed.*

** See p. 43 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Council to make any alterations that might be thought necessary.*

The meeting then adjourned.**

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*
GEO ODGER, Chairman

*COUNCIL MEETING****

22 December 1868

Cit. *Odger* in the chair.

Members present: *Odger, Dupont, Buckley, Marx, Lessner, Jung, Weston, Bernard.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from Stepney enclosing a cheque for £5 5s. as his contribution.

A letter from Belgium stated that they were making good progress in that country; last year they had not more than 3 branches,**** now they have 60; they get 1,000 new adherents every week; the weavers of Gand and spinners of Pepinster have been successful in their strike.[46]

A letter from Liebknecht announces that our new societies in Germany number already 110,000 men.

Jung read some papers from Switzerland showing that our Association was being attacked by the middle-class press,[47] and *Marx* proposed and *Lessner* seconded that Jung write an official answer to those papers; adopted unanimously.

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* See p. 77 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Further the word "Chairman" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 183-84 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** Originally the word "sections" was written here.—*Ed.*

Jung then read the answer to the "Alliance internationale de la démocratie"*; after some discussion it was unanimously agreed to with the following addition proposed by *Dupont*, reminding them that many who had signed the programme of the Alliance** had voted, at Brussels, in favour of the resolution concerning the Peace League.[48]

Weston was authorised to get the Congress resolutions printed.***

It was unanimously agreed that in future one penny should be charged for the cards.

Marx then proposed that the Turco-Greek question[49] should be discussed the first Tuesday in the new year; adopted unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to the 5th of January 1869.

Chairman****

H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

* See pp. 299-301 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 273-78 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** See pp. 284-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
**** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

[*1869*]

*COUNCIL MEETING**

5 January 1869[50]

Cit. *Zabicki* in the chair.

Members present: *Buckley, Johannard, Dupont, Stepney, Bernard, Marx, Milner, Applegarth* and *Jung* and *Limburg.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Jung stated that owing to some letters received from France and Switzerland the Sub-Committee had met on Saturday last.**

Marx brought the report of the Sub-Committee.

It appears that the cotton yarns and goods manufacturers of France are forming an alliance with a view of underselling the English manufacturers in their own markets; the French manufacturers admit that although the English manufacturers have better machinery and larger capitals than the French, they have been enabled to hold their own owing to the low wages paid to the men in France and they hope by lowering the wages still more to be able to produce their goods cheaper than the English manufacturers can.

Mr. Bertel, mayor of Sotteville-lès-Rouen and one of the largest manufacturers of the place, was the first to

* The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 184-86 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** January 2, 1869.—*Ed.*

inaugurate this new crusade against the working classes; he offered a reduction of 3½ pence per day; on the men refusing these terms they were locked out and they have now appealed to the International Working Men's Association for help.

After some discussion the following resolution proposed by Cit. *Applegarth* and seconded by *Marx* was unanimously agreed to.[51]

Dupont stated that in Vienne, Dauphiné, 400 spinners had been locked out because they would not agree to a reduction of wages.

Marx thought we ought to give immediate relief to the men at Sotteville-lès-Rouen and he thought the £20 lent by the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners to the bronze-workers of Paris,[52] had been lent under our guarantee and that we could transfer them from bronze-workers to the men of Rouen.

Applegarth said that whenever they had advanced money to any body of men on the Continent it had always been with the recommendation of the International, in fact he considered the money as having been lent to the International and hence he thought we were perfectly justified in transferring it from one body of men to another.

It was then unanimously agreed that the bronze-workers of Paris should be asked to send that money to Sotteville-lès-Rouen[53] and Johannard was instructed to take the resolution to Paris and communicate it to the bronze-workers.

Jung then stated that a great many ribbon-weavers at Basle were locked out, but his information was so scanty that he could not make out a case.

Marx said that 200 men had been discharged without notice (for taking one quarter of a day usually given throughout Switzerland), although the custom in Basle requested 14 days' notice to be given on either side; he then proposed a vote of censure to be passed upon the

Central Committee of Switzerland for having left the General Council without the proper information on such an important matter[54]; the proposition was seconded by *Dupont* and unanimously adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

GEO ODGER, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

12 January 1869

Cit. *Odger* in the chair.

Members present: *Lucraft, Lessner, Marx, Buckley, Milner, Dupont, Stepney, Jung.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read [and] confirmed.

It was unanimously agreed that the card be amended and that London be added to the card.

It was proposed by *Marx* and seconded by *Lucraft* that 10,000 be printed and unanimously agreed to.

Jung read a letter from Belgium where they had established new branches and at a conference composed of delegates from different parts of Belgium they had elected their General Council for Belgium[55]; Jung thought it would be advisable to change the word "general" for the word "central"**; *Marx* thought the word "federal" would suit them better; the Secretary for Belgium*** was instructed to communicate the decision to the Belgian Council.

Dupont read a letter from Rouen stating that out of

* The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 186-87 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the words "or federal" have been crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*** Bernard.—*Ed.*

the 160 locked-out spinners 60 had found work and 100 still remained out; some help would be very welcome.

A letter from Paris stated that the bronze-workers were to meet on Friday when they would decide about the £20 advanced them by the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners.*

Lessner thought we ought to begin again at eight o'clock instead of nine.

JOHN WESTON, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

19 January 1869

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

Members present: *Limburg, Hales, Lessner, Buckley, Dupont, Johannard, Warren, Odger, Stepney, Weston, Jung, Bernard.*

The Minutes were read and confirmed.

Cit. John Warren, delegate from the Trunk-Makers' Society, took his seat at the Council.[56]

Johannard made his report concerning his mission to Paris; the bronze-workers of Paris gave him the £20 and he took them to Rouen.*** Our men, both in Paris and Rouen, are doing an active propaganda.

Lessner proposed and *Jung* seconded that 3 languages be printed on the back of each card.

Weston and *Odger* propose that the 2,000 cards we have be also printed on the back.

Lessner was requested to pay one month's rent and to make arrangements concerning firing.

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* See p. 58 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Jung's hand on p. 188 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** See p. 58 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Lessner gives notice of motion concerning the ballot question.[57]

Johannard stated that both in Paris and in Rouen our members were eagerly waiting for the programme of next Congress.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN WESTON, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

26 January 1869

Cit. *Lessner* in the chair.

Members present: *Lessner, Buckley, Johannard, Jung, Shaw, Odger, Hales.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from Rouen [was read] thanking the Council for what we had done for the locked-out spinners.

A letter was read from Messrs. Mallalien and Co. asking for our Rules and the Congress reports; the Secretary was instructed to supply them.

A letter was read from the Sunday League asking the Council to appoint a deputation.

A long discussion ensued when the following resolution proposed by *Odger* and seconded by *Hales* was adopted with but one dissentient:

That the deputation put down in writing what their knowledge and views of the use made of the Sunday on the Continent by the working classes are as compared with England and present their report on this subject to the Council for approval before forwarding it to the Sunday League.

* The Minutes are in Jung's hand on pp. 189-90 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The following resolution was then unanimously agreed to:

That the deputation be requested to wait on the Sunday League to inform them of the course adopted by the Council.

A letter from Brussels was read enclosing £4 for contributions and promising a like amount for next month; some questions were also asked about a Marble Polishers' Society,[58] and Cit. *Shaw* undertook to procure the said information.

JOHN WESTON, Chairman
H. JUNG, Secretary *pro tem.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

2 February 1869[59]

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

Members present: *Maurice, Eccarius, Lessner, Buckley, Bernard, Johannard, Warren, Marx, Stepney, Milner, Jung, Weston.***

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Jung* reported on behalf of the deputation to the Sunday League. The Council of the League had expressed a desire that the Council of the International Association should take an official part in the discussion of the Sunday observance question, and give its influence in favour of the movement. He had been requested by the Council of the League to state that they desired to send a deputation to argue the question.

Upon the proposition of *Maurice* seconded by *Eccarius*

* The beginning of the Minutes is in Jung's hand on p. 190 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the Minutes are in Eccarius's hand, pp. 190-91.—*Ed.*

it was resolved to receive a deputation from the Sunday League.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had received a letter from Manchester concerning Ernest Jones's funeral[60] in which he had been informed that the working [men] who had followed on foot had not been permitted to enter the cemetery.

CORRESPONDENCE

Brussels. The *Belgian Secretary* warned the members of the Council not to tell everybody what was going on, there being detractors abroad who endeavoured to prove useless[ness] of the Association. There were more Vésiniers than one. A. de Charnal had attacked the Association in the *Cigale* in the shabbiest manner.[61] Jung, Dupont, Tolain, etc., he maintained,* had to have proved their innocence by duels.

Switzerland. A letter from Bâle gave particulars respecting the silk-dyers' and ribbon-weavers' dispute of that town.

1. The silk-dyers were locked out on the 26th of December on account of being members of the International Association. Number originally locked out 480. Victimised and out since January 4th, 150.[62]

2. Ribbon-weavers victimised and kept out for being members since the end of November, 150.

3. Rate of wages, silk-dyers from 10 to 18 fr. a week and daily a measure of wine. Ribbon-weavers at piece work earn from 9 to 17 francs a week; hours of labour—12 to 14 hours a day.

4. In the ribbon trade many women and young children are employed.

* The words "he maintained" were inserted in the Minute Book on approval of the Minutes at the Council meeting on February 9, 1869.—*Ed.*

5. The exact number who at present belong to the Association is unknown. Before the lock-out the dyers numbered 400, the ribbon-weavers upwards of 350; at present it is supposed dyers about 250, ribbon-weavers about 200.

6. There is no specific sum allowed for support, the relief consists principally in articles of food.

7. The ribbon-weavers' branch has made a loan of 700 fr. to aid their fellow-workers. Not only the dyers and weavers in work but also other trades, particularly the engineers, contribute as much as they are able.

8. The employers of Bâle as well as those of Zurich have entered into agreement not to employ any of the men turned out.

The Bâle Committee is of opinion that pecuniary aid from London would have a great moral effect. They complain greatly of the behaviour of the middle-class press. The President of the branch Cit. Frey has been elected as a member of the Great Council.

Cit. *Jung* said he was aware that there was not much hope of obtaining money under existing circumstances yet he thought the Council ought to try.

Marx spoke in favour of the matter being taken up, the more so as it was not an ordinary strike or lock-out but an attempt to crush the Association.

It was ultimately agreed that the Secretary write to the principal trade societies to receive deputations on behalf of the locked-out of Bâle.

A proposition that the Secretary receive 15s. a week for his services was carried against one.

The Secretary was authorised to buy an account book.

The meeting adjourned at eleven o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

February 9[63]

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Bernard, Jung, Johannard, Lessner,* Mrs. *Law, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Warren, Lucraft, Weston.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair; Minutes of the previous meeting read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read letters from the Web-Weavers', Cigar-Makers' and Hatters' Societies consenting to receive deputations on behalf of the locked-out at Bâle.

Cit. *Jung* reported that he had attended the Elastic Web-Weavers' meeting who had voted one pound.

Cit. *Lessner* handed over two pounds six shillings collected at the anniversary of the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein.[64]

Citizens Jung and Milner were appointed to attend the Cigar-Makers' Executive, and Eccarius and Weston at the Hatters.

Cit. *Jung* read a letter from Bâle complaining that the *Arbeiter*,[65] a weekly paper published by the Vice-President of the section, was in difficulties and in danger of being extinguished.

Rules had arrived from Geneva purporting to establish a strike fund and other [things] aiming at solidarisation of the Welsch** branches of the International Association in Switzerland.[66] The approval of the Council of the said rules was asked.

Cit. Jung was authorised to examine [and] to strike out anything he might find not agreeing with the General Rules and send them back with suitable comments.

Cit. Jung was authorised to forward four pounds to Bâle. The silk-dyers of Zurich had formed a society and joined the International.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 192-93 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Romance.—*Ed.*

Citizens Weston and Dupont were appointed to audit the books.

Cit. *Dupont* reported that the strike at Rouen was at an end, the working[men] had given in, but were preparing for a future time. The discussions of the Credit question were going out of date in France; forming trade societies was in the ascendant.

He proposed that a manifesto should be published of the Bâle and Rouen affair as soon as all the facts were known. He also argued the desirability of publishing the programme for the next Congress before the French elections.[67]

It was agreed that the advisability of carrying these suggestions into effect be put on the order of the day for the next meeting.

Cit. *Weston* announced that a meeting was to take place on Saturday the 13th at the Southampton Buildings to consider means of providing employment for the unemployed poor; he wished that the Council should be represented at that meeting.

Mrs. Law and Cit. Milner were appointed to represent the Council on the occasion, but to limit their remarks to the Land question.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Cit. Shaw respecting the information about the marble polishers for Belgium.*

It was agreed that the Congress resolutions should be advertised four consecutive times in the *Bee-Hive* and *St. Crispin.***

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* See p. 62 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** This sentence was inserted at the top of p. 193 of the Minute Book on approval of the Minutes at the Council meeting on February 16, 1869.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

February 16[68]

Present: *Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Limburg, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Warren.*

Cit. Lucraft was unanimously called upon to take the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read letters from the secretaries of two Cabinet-Makers' Societies expressing sympathy with the men of Basle but regretting the inability of their societies to render any pecuniary support.

The deputations reported that the executives of the Cigar-Makers and the Hatters had consented to bring the matter before their societies.

Cit. *Lessner* remitted £1 1s. more from the Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein.

Cit. Jung was authorised to forward another 50 fr. to Basle.

Cit. *Marx* remitted one thaler for cards from the miners of Lugau in Germany.

Cit. *Milner* reported on behalf of the deputation to Southampton Buildings that Mrs. Law had made the speech of the evening. An opinion was expressed that it [did] not appear that any particular party had got up [at] the meeting as a feeler, but that a committee might have been formed with a view to further proceedings if any one had taken the matter up.

Cit. *Jung* read extracts from the *Arbeiter* of Basle and the *Egalité* of Geneva. The former stated that the Metal-Workers (Engineers), Carpenters, and Bookbinders of

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 193-94a of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Zurich had formed trade societies and joined the Association. A collection had also been made at a public meeting for the men of Basle amounting to 62 fr. From two country villages in the Canton of Basle, Eptingen, and Oberweiler, supplies had been received of firewood, apples, potatoes, peas, and dried fruit. The female branch of Geneva had sent 30 fr., and in consequence of an appeal by Cit. Heligon, a member of the Association, 135 fr. had been collected at a public meeting at Paris. A watch manufacturer* at St. Imier had posted up bills to the effect that he would employ no one who was a member of the Association.[69] In reply to an article in the *Etats-Unis d'Europe,* the *Egalité* repudiates the idea of aspiring to nothing better than Swiss Republicanism.[70]

Cit. *Applegarth* reported that an agent of the manufacturers of Zurich had been to see him. He was making inquiries to ascertain in how far the Swiss workmen acted under directions from the London Council. He had stated that if wages were forced as high as they were in other countries they would have to stop their mills as they were under considerable disadvantages in procuring raw material, yet they could not do without manufacturing, as the agricultural resources were insufficient to support the population.

Citizens *Jung* and *Marx* said the manufacturers were wilfully spreading falsehoods. They knew that their men did not act under directions from London, but they had gained a little courage since they had been brought in union with the men of other countries, and the capitalists did all they could to isolate them. With regard to silk they had greater facility to procure raw material than the manufacturers of other countries and their profits were considerably higher than those of the English manufacturers.

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* Francillon.—*Ed.*

A deputation from the Holborn branch of the Reform League attended, soliciting the co-operation of the Council to get up a demonstration in memory of Ernest Jones, whom the deputation represented as having been the champion of the oppressed in every country of Europe.

Citizens Jung, Lessner, and Dupont were appointed to arrange matters with the Demonstration Committee.[71]

Another deputation attended from the Council of the Sunday League. The deputation stated that the questions to be submitted for discussion, in which the Council of the Sunday League desired that speakers from the International should take part, would be as follows: 1) The Continental Sunday and the English Sunday compared; 2) Does the opening of museums and galleries involve a compulsory system of working seven days for six days' pay as has been asserted? 3) Is the social and moral character of a nation destroyed by the employment of a few for the recreation of the many?

Mr. *Morell* stated that he for one would not advocate the question of opening the museums if he thought it would lead to Sunday labour generally. The League desired that the Council should appoint a speaker from each of the large Continental cities to state at the meeting how Sunday was observed in different places. To most people in this country Paris was the Continent. The Lords Day Observance Society would be invited to the discussion.

Another of the deputation stated that care should be taken that the discussion did not drift into a theological controversy.

Marx observed there was plenty of overwork now on Sunday without the museums being open.

It was agreed to get information from abroad and consider the question of appointing speakers on a future day.

Cit. *Dupont* referred to his statement of the previous week respecting the programme for the next Congress.*

Marx considered it premature to publish the whole programme now. The two great questions, Education and Credit, stood in a manner adjourned to the next Congress and the Land question was sure to crop up again. These three then might be announced as part of the programme and that those who have any propositions to make be invited to do so.

The following resolution was then agreed to:

"That the secretaries be instructed to write to all the Continental sections to inform them that the three questions, Land, Credit, and Education, should again form part of the Congress programme and that any section who may have any suggestions to make respecting other subjects to be brought before the Congress shall be invited to send them as early as possible; papers or essays written upon the subjects to be likewise sent to London before the time fixed for the meeting of the Congress."

The Council [adjourned] at 11 o'clock.**

*COUNCIL MEETING****

February 23[72]

Members present: *Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Weston.*

Cit. *Lessner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* See p. 66 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 195-96 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

A letter was read from the Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers* stating that the Council of that association had no funds at their disposal to assist the people locked out at Bâle.

A letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League suggested the advisability of issuing tickets of admission to the intended discussion and asked the concurrence of the Council.

The Council agreed and instructed the Secretary to inform the Council of the League of it.

Leno delivered the Congress resolutions.**

Cit. *Jung* was authorised to pay the bill-amount £3 5s.

It was agreed that the resolutions be sold at 1d. per copy and that the sending free of charge to affiliated societies and correspondents be left to the discretion of the Secretary.

Cit. *Lessner* reported from the Demonstration Committee in honour of Ernest Jones*** that prints had been issued from the sale of which the expenses were to be defrayed. A proposition to apply to middle-class people for aid had been rejected.

Cit. *Marx* read a lengthy report upon the regulations of the coal-miners in Saxony[73] from which [it] appeared that the weekly wages of adults are from 6s. to 10s. 3d., of boys from 4s. to 5s. That they work 24 hours out of every 48 during 6 days of the week, the shifts varying from 6 to 12 hours. That each mine has a separate benefit club to which the masters contribute in various ways, but in only one case do they contribute as much as men, while the men have no proprietary rights in the funds in any case and the masters invariably administer them by their managers. The men lose all claim when they leave the works no matter for what reason. Some of the club rules

* Allan.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 284-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** See p. 69 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

contain prohibitions against strikes and combinations, but none contain any provisions for men permanently disabled by accident, other than such as apply equally to inability from old age or other bodily infirmities. The men propose to consolidate all the clubs into one; that members shall not lose their claim to benefit as long as they reside in Germany and continue to pay their contributions; and that the funds shall [be] administered by officers appointed at periodical general meetings of the miners. Some believe that the masters will continue to contribute under such arrangements.

The Secretary was instructed to try and get the whole report published in some daily paper.

Cit. *Milner* proposed and Cit. *Marx* seconded the nomination of Mr. Boon as a member of the Council.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to eleven o'clock.

H. JUNG
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 2[7]4

Members present: *Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Stepney, Warren, Weston.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from the Sunday League announced that the Freemasons' Hall had been engaged and that the Sunday observance discussion would take place March 16th and that it was desirable that the speakers should be appointed and their names communicated.

Marx proposed and *Lessner* seconded that Mrs. Law,

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 196-97 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Dupont, Jung and Eccarius be appointed as speakers and that the question be discussed by the Council in the next meeting. Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Warren* presented three copies of the rules of the Portmanteau- and Trunk-Makers' Society.

Cit. *Marx* stated that police of Nuremberg had prohibited a charge of admission to a meeting held in that town for the benefit of the men locked out at Bâle as illegal. The president had submitted under protest, upon which one of the men present had publicly announced that as he was not permitted to tender his mite at the entrance he would lay [it] down inside the room; this example had been followed by others so that the collection had been made in spite of the police.

He further called the attention of the Council to the fact that at the time the Trades Union Commission[75] had been appointed a great outcry had been raised in the middle class upon the statement of some actuaries that the best of the trades unions must become bankrupt with their present contributions in consequence of mixing up other affairs with the benefit funds. A few days ago an accountant had published a letter addressed to Gladstone in which it was proved that the present position of one-tenth Life Assurance Companies amounted to insolvency.[76] It remained to be seen if the papers would take any notice of that.

Cit. *Jung* stated that money had been collected at Nice for the men of Bâle.

In consequence of the rules and programme of the International Association having been published in the newspapers, at Naples meetings had been held at which several trade societies had declared their adhesion and appointed a committee to act provisionally as the Central Committee of the Association for the whole of Italy. The members of the Committee are: Etienne Caporusso, a tailor, President; Christian Tucci, a carpenter, Vice-

President; Anthony Giustiniani, a modeller, Treasurer; Anthony Cirma, a carpenter, Secretary. These proceedings were causing much alarm amongst the middle-class liberals.[77]

Cit. Dupont was appointed as secretary *pro tem.* for Italy and instructed to correspond with the new committee.

The *Secretary** announced that he had sent the Congress resolutions** to all the London societies with [which] the Association is in correspondence.

He was authorised to pay a debt of 12s. 6d. to the *Bee-Hive.*

Cit. *Weston* gave a report of the Demonstration Committee. A strong desire had been expressed that some Continental member of the Council should make a speech on the occasion. There were five presidents and five other speakers appointed and it had been suggested that the secularists[78] should secure as many halls as they could in the evening to celebrate the day by suitable music and speeches.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman

*COUNCIL MEETING****

March 9

Members present: *Buckley, Bernard, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Warren.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the International

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 284-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 198-99 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Alliance of Socialist Democrats demanding answers—yes or no—to certain questions.[79]

Cit. *Marx* read a letter containing the required answers which he proposed and *Dupont* seconded to be sent in reply.

The proposition was unanimously carried and instructions given that it be forwarded to all correspondents who had received the previous letter which had called forth the present.*

Cit. *Jung* announced that the first subscription sheet to the Basle lock-out had been published, the subscription amounted to £300. Subscriptions were still coming in and men were still turned out.

Cit. *Marx* announced that the German Bookbinders were going to establish an International Bookbinders' Union and were going to hold a congress to which they invited delegates from every country.

The *Secretary*** called attention to a statement in the *Egalité* that 13,500 men had joined the Association in Austria.[80]

Dupont said: we heard so much of adhesions in the papers but we were never officially informed. We ought to be informed whenever a new section was formed.

Bernard said in countries where committees existed it was their duty to do so.

Cit. *Marx* observed that [as] we had empowered several [members] in Germany to form new sections it would simply require to remind them of their duty if they should neglect it.

Dupont was instructed to write to Italy.

A discussion then took place on the Sunday observance question in which *Marx* observed that the best guarantee against Sunday labour was the extension of factory laws. In the present state of society there was always a tendency of transforming as much of man's lifetime as possible into

* See pp. 299-301 and 310-11 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

working time. He instanced some cases respecting the Bakers of Dublin and the Ironmongers of London to show that the religious observance of Sunday did not prohibit Sunday working.

Jung made a few observations respecting Sunday keeping in Switzerland.

Citizens Cohn and Bernard were added to the list of speakers.

Cit. *Maurice* nominated Mr. Fraser as member of the Council, Mrs. *Law* seconding.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 23

Members present: *Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Hales, Lucraft, Boon, Bedford.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read letters from the Secretary of the Trades Council of Edinburgh, from Cit. Yarrow of Eastbourne, John Smith of Whitechurch in Dorset, the latter desiring information respecting the Association. The Secretary mentioned that G. J. Harney had written to Mr. Truelove requesting him to send some of the reports, etc., of the Association. He was of opinion that the required documents should be forwarded officially.

The Secretary was to forward what was required to the applicants.

Cit. *Jung* called attention to a shoemaker's advertise-

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 199-200 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ment in *Lloyd's* inserted to entrap unwary people to work for a shop on strike.

A letter in the *Egalité* announced that money had been sent from Italy* to Basle. Another letter from Madrid stated that a section had been formed and wished to correspond with London.[81]

The factory lords of Basle had agreed to let the men return to work with the exception of about a dozen who volunteered to leave the country.

A letter from Geneva stated that a fresh dispute had occurred in the Building Trade. There were 150 men out who required assistance.[82]

Cit. Jung was instructed to reply that under existing circumstances there was no chance to obtain supplies here.

Cit. *Hales* proposed the admission of Boon as a member of the Council; carried.

Cit. Edward Bedford and J. Ross were admitted as delegates from the Bootclosers' Society.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Hales* seconded that the resolution of sending a congratulatory address to Spain be rescinded** as there was nothing now in Spain upon which the working class could be congratulated. Agreed.

Cit. *Jung* complained about the arrangement and treatment of the members of the Council at the Sunday discussion. The members of the League had spoken a great [deal] longer than the allotted ten minutes while he and Dupont had been cut short.

The Secretary was ordered to call upon Mr. Cottam about the cards.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman

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* In the Minute Book the word "Italy" is inserted in place of "Naples".—*Ed.*

** See pp. 43, 54-55 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 30

Members present: *Bernard, Dupont, Buckley, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Stepney, Ross, Applegarth, Warren.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Jung* announced the reception of a letter from Basle, stating that the strike was at an end but not the sufferings of the people, and inquiring whether there were any hopes of receiving more money from London. A new president** had been elected in the place of Frey who seemed to have been induced to resign his place more from weakness and incapacity than from any design against the Association. A reading room had been established, works on the labour question would be gladly received as that question was to be taken up in preference to any other. The tailors had established a co-operative society, and would like to have rules, etc., of kindred associations in England.

The news from Geneva was that the compositors and printers were on strike for a rectification of the price list.[83]

Elie Reclus and three others at Paris had protested against the policy of the *Egalité* which consisted in a hostile attitude against the middle class.[84]

Stepney had received a letter from Pisa in Italy.

The Times and other papers were attacking the insurance societies.[85]

Cit. *Jung* stated further that he had received a visit from a Belgian who wanted some information about the Association but preferred making inquiries here as the

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 200-01 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Bruhin.—*Ed.*

Belgian police was constantly watching the members of the Association there.

There being no business before the chair, the *Secretary** said now was the time to propose questions for discussions to which Cit. *Milner* responded by stating that on some future night he should raise the question whether trade societies could assist their unemployed members to some kind of self-employment and by that means avoid the necessity which frequently compelled them to accept work on any condition from unprincipled employers.

The Council [adjourned] at half past 10 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman

*COUNCIL MEETING***

April 6[86]

Members present: *Buckley, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Stepney, Ross.*

The *Secretary* read a letter from a Mr. Fisher of Sydney in Gloucestershire asking how he could obtain the Congress resolutions and make himself useful to the Association.

The Secretary was authorised to furnish him with the documents of the Association.

The following circular had come to hand from Birmingham, the consideration of which was postponed till the next meeting.

A letter including prospectus of an association purporting to reclaim waste lands in the neighbourhood of the metropolis and cultivate them on the co-operative principle establishing communities who would produce all they

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 201-03 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

need for their own support with little exception, the workmen to participate in the profits that might accrue.

The Secretary was instructed to acknowledge the receipt.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from Naples stated that now a real section was established, and [it] made rapid progress amidst the difficulties thrown in the way by the old working men's organisation which is subsidised by the ruling power. Some parts of Italy were not so well prepared for our principles as others, but the leading men were in our favour, and there was no doubt that Italy would be well represented at the next Congress. Information required whether any one could correspond in Italian. The middle-class revolutionists were not [of] our way of thinking, but they could not be opposed at present.

Dassy, in a letter, expressed regret that Dupont had received no letters. He had done much to advance the cause of the working class and was willing to do more. Had not yet received the reports of the Brussels Congress. A renovation of society was urgently required but he should like to have advice what to do and was willing to do it. The Post Office was not to be trusted.

From Geneva complaints were made that no answer had been received yet to the letter applying for pecuniary assistance.* They had to fight all the political parties of the middle class combined, who tried everything to provoke the men to acts of violence, but they remained firm. The master builders had sent circulars to the other towns of Switzerland cautioning the employers not to employ any one coming from Geneva.[87]

The tailors' section of Lausanne wished to know whether there was a co-operative society in England that

* See p. 77 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

could furnish them with stuff. They had paid 8,000 fr. for materials to Agent of Cook at Huddersfield, 4,000 fr. to Elboeuf, and 6,000 fr. to Germany; they would much prefer dealing with a co-operative society. They are going to have a shop in every town of Switzerland and a Central Committee to make all purchases.

In a letter from Brussels it was stated that many sections were in an embryo state and therefore a complete list could not be given. The Brussels treasurer was now engaged to separate his accounts—what was town and what was country; he would be done in about a fortnight. The Brussels members numbered 1,500.[88]

Two delegates from the Helvetia [Society] inquired whether the vote of adhesion of their society was to be made effective. Some instructions were given and the delegates promised to put an appearance the next morning.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

April 13

Members present: *Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Limburg, Milner, Marx, Müller, Weston.*

Cit. Jung was unanimously voted in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary*** stated that he [had] no correspondence of any kind.

Cit. *Marx* announced that in the North-German Parliament three socialist speeches [were made] by real

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 203-05 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

representatives of working men; they were the first that had ever been made in any parliament. Dr. Schweitzer, the President of the General German Working Men's Union,[89] had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by a debate on a government proposition for the regulation of the handicraft trades. He had explained what the working class required, and that they meant to have it, and as a preparatory step to future action he had demanded a statistical inquiry into the whole circumstances connected with labour and insisted upon proper education. A Mr. Braun had tried to make fun of it, but he had been ably met by Fritzsche of Berlin, a cigar-maker. The middle-class speakers who had followed had been answered the next day by Bebel, another working man, who had made the best speech in every respect. Bebel had pointed to the International Association to remove any doubts as to the seriousness of labour movement and avowed himself an advocate and active member of the Association.[90] Cit. Marx said that a great deal might be done just now in Germany but our progress was frustrated by the want of cards.

Cit. *Jung* entered upon some explanations to show what part he had taken in the getting up of [cards], which were considered sufficient to exonerate from any blame in the matter.

Cit. *Jung* announced that at a mining work in Belgium where the men were compelled to contribute to a benefit fund, of which the masters claimed the sole management, two men, one of whom was 64 years old and had contributed upwards of 30 years, had been refused certificates to entitle them to relief.[91]

Marx stated that his report upon the mines in Saxony had been published in three papers in Germany.*

Cit. *Jung* stated that the Master Builders' Association of Geneva had appealed to the men to return to work.

* See pp. 302-09 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Marx thought that the Geneva Committee allowed itself too often to get entangled with every little strike without having prepared any means to support it; it could only tend to compromise the Association.

Jung said that he had always urged this view of the matter in letters to Geneva and told them it was ridiculous to appeal for help in foreign country for about 150 men on strike, and that they must take such matters on their own responsibility.

Cit. *Weston* endorsed what had been said. If we were to be appealed to for money we ought to be consulted before strikes took place. If we went soliciting money on every occasion it would be interpreted that we promoted strikes.

Cit. *Marx* called attention to what is called the London French branch, who acted in the name of the Association and compromised the Association. Our Rules left so wide a scope to the branches that the Council could not easily interfere, but there must be some central[isation]. They had paid no contributions, and, according to the resolutions of the last Congress, we had a right to call upon them to give a report of their proceedings every three months.

Cit. *Jung* said that that branch acted in direct opposition to the Council. The Council had frustrated the intended working men's banquet to the American Ambassador,* the president of the French branch** had invoked his aid against the French army in Rome,[92] and Félix Pyat had declared that the Empire was death to property and wanted the Emperor*** shot to save it. He thought it was the institution of property as it is we ought to strive to remove and leave the Emperor to his fate, he would fall when the system fell.

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* Johnson. See pp. 49-50, 51, 52, 53 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Besson.—*Ed.*
*** Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Milner* thought we could not be too careful in anything that was done in the name of the Association, we might get into trouble.

Cit. *Weston* regretted that alienation had occurred with the French branch which seemed not to be a branch. It might be good policy to invite them to conform to the Rules. If they could be brought back, it might be an advantage, if not, and they did anything wrong, we could disavow them.

Cit. *Marx* replied that his and Weston's remarks concurred. But the French branch had done a great deal of which the Council had taken no notice. They had sent a delegate to Brussels with a long indictment against the Council brought before the Congress; the matter had been referred to the Brussels section who had decided against them.* They then sent letters everywhere against Dupont and Jung. After that they had tried to get up a meeting to alter the Rules of our Association; in that they had failed, and now they called themselves the French branch. If anything took place in France they would compromise us.

Upon the proposition of *Weston* seconded by *Milner* it was agreed that the Secretary be instructed to write to the branch to mention that they act in the name of the Association without consulting it and to call upon them to define their relation to the Council.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Milner* seconded that the request of the Genevese be complied with and the laws of inheritance be added to the questions to be discussed at the next Congress. Agreed.

Eccarius proposed and *Milner* seconded that inquiries be made as to the probable liabilities arising out of taking part in the Birmingham Congress.[93] Agreed.

Cit. *Müller* presented a declaration of adhesion from

* See p. 44 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

the Helvetia and credentials as its delegate. He was admitted.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

April 20[94]

Members present: *Bernard, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Marx, Müller, Stepney.*

The *Secretary* read a letter from Birmingham stating that the expenses of each delegate visiting the Congress would not exceed six shillings.

Cit. *Dupont* had received a letter from Genoa. The writer stated that the reason of his long silence was travelling. He had written to Dupont to Brussels, but the letter had probably missed him. He had not received all the numbers of Brussels Congress report and wanted those of Geneva and Lausanne[95] as well, besides Rules, etc. A report was to be published of the working men's congress of the Liguria, also an appeal to the old Italian working men's societies to join the Association.

A letter from Rouen reported all going well. The section has published an account of their doings in a pamphlet and hopes it will give satisfaction to the Trades Unionists of this country. They could not get a printer to print and had to get it done in Paris.[96] The electoral fever was beginning. The working men were going to put up a candidate of their own. They did not expect to return, but he would get a handsome minority of votes.

Cit. *Jung* stated some particulars respecting the puddlers' strike at Seraing in Belgium, where the military force had been called to assist the proprietors to coerce

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 205-09 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the men into submission, which had led to an indiscriminate massacre. Upon this the Liège section had sent a delegate to Brussels, who had arrived there on Saturday 10 April, between 9 and 10 at night, to induce the Central Committee of the Association* to send someone to the spot to see what could be done to calm the work-people who in the then state of excitement might be goaded on to commit excesses. The Central Committee had appointed Eugen Hins who had left with the first train the next morning; the following is his report:

I arrived at Liège about half past 10 in the morning. I there met two members of the Liège section who offered to accompany me to Seraing where we arrived towards noon.

I was prepared for seeing the spectacle of a city military occupied; great was my astonishment not to meet any soldiers, only the caps of some gendarmes were seen to rise in the distance. A great many working men were going to and fro, others forming groups, but everything appeared very quiet. Later I discovered the reason of this tranquillity, the troops did only execute their work under the cover of night. This tranquillity would have deceived anyone and I believed already that the affair had been exaggerated and rejoiced to see all conflict discarded. We directed our steps towards Lize, where the seat of our Seraing section is, and then I received an account of the horrors of which the place that looked so peaceful had been the theatre.

On Friday night an immense crowd had assembled in the rue Cockerill. Whether the crowd was provoked and stones thrown in consequence, I will not undertake to answer, but I will say this, that the soldiers had no business there, and if they had not been there they could not have been thrown at; and if a few ill-advised persons threw stones, is that any reason why everybody else should [be] maltreated?

The Riot Act was read three times. Nothing more odious than this manner to give villainous deeds an air of legality. Could this compact crowd disperse in a few minutes? Could the people believe in the perverseness of their governors? They treated it as a laughing matter.

At that moment in the dead of the night, 10 o'clock, the cavalry started and swept down the middle of the street, the Infantry with

* The Belgian Federal Council.—*Ed.*

crossed bayonets running along the foot-paths. Judge of the carnage in such a compact crowd struck before any one could fly. The unfortunates were pursued into the houses where they took refuge, and when they had been fortunate enough to shut the door behind them, the soldiers forced them open and, unable to recognise whom they had been following, they hit everybody. This was not only done in beer-houses but private houses. The number of the wounded it is impossible to estimate but it must have been considerable. Two are said to be dead, but how many have died besides?

On the part of the troops the wounds amount to some contusions. Only a brigadier is seriously wounded by his own gun. He is shot through the shoulder which was only possible by going off while he knocked defenceless people about with the butt-end.

The same scene was renewed on the next night, here are the accounts of the victims: One who had three sabre-cuts in the front of his arm gave me the following account: "I went quietly along the rue Cockerill, turning toward the Ougrie where I live, when hearing the noise of horses I stepped on the pavement. A policeman, who is my friend, passed and stretched out his hand to save me. At the same instant I was assaulted by foot-gendarmes who knocked me down by one sabre-cut, and gave three more and then they left me there." The other said: "On Saturday night, returning from the Confession," he said naïvely, "I went to take a glass in [a] house in the rue du Bac, a side street of the rue Cockerill. I was sitting with my back towards the door when it suddenly opened and I felt some[thing] striking my legs, it was the sabre from which I received two cuts. I turned round and saw an officer before me. As I asked him the motive for such a brutal assault he seized me by the collar and wanted to drag me into the street. Seized with indignation I took up my glass and hurled it at his head. I was surrounded and carried to Cockerill's establishment where the gendarmes put themselves in a position to strike me with fury when one of the *employés* of the house was attracted by my cries and came to deliver me from these demons."

While this was told the sun shone so lively and warm, and seeing the tranquillity that reigned everywhere who could have believed that assassins in uniform were lurking in ambuscades in the town only coming out in the night to accomplish their crimes? I naturally thought of the massacre of the rue Transnonain at Paris,[97] much surpassed by those here. The former had the extenuating circumstance of an enraged battle on their side, nothing can be pleaded here. In the meantime Adrien and Varlet had arrived from Verviers. At two o'clock we held a council and came to the conclusion that the best thing we could do was to hold a meeting and to engage the

working people not to be led away by these displays of brutal force. The meeting was fixed for half past four and it was announced in all directions. A considerable number responded to the call. Hins and Lepourque encouraged the puddlers to hold out, but advised the coal-miners to return to work that they might assist the puddlers, which they have done, thus limiting the number requiring support. The meeting lasted till half past seven and dispersed peaceably, because there were no soldiers present. From there we went to the railway station. Learning that we should have to wait an hour and a quarter for the next train we went out to take a glass of beer. We hardly [made] half a dozen steps from the station when charge of cavalry came sweeping along the street. A few steps from us fell a man cut with a sabre; we retreated. About five minutes afterwards we went out by another way and ran as fast as we could into coffee-shop. We had not been there many minutes when one of Liège friends felt queer and opened the door to go out. All at once he uttered a cry and tottered. The landlord and another ran to his assistance: he had received a bayonet-wound in the side. While they supported him, a gendarme came in and gave the landlord a bayonet-cut on the shoulder. We then shut the door and imprisoned ourselves. About half an hour after the street seemed clear and we returned to the station without any hindrance. On arriving there we saw a man in the waiting-room half naked with three bayonet-wounds in his back; he was a working man. On the departure-platform sat two wounded, one had his arm pierced by a bayonet, the other was wounded in the side; a charge had been made at the passengers during our absence. Only one member of the Chamber of Deputies* belonging to the clerical party had questioned the Minister of the Interior** about these transactions, who answered that [all] had been done according to law. The mayor of Seraing*** who read the Riot Act is an agent of Cockerill. The Minister of the Interior is the largest shareholder of the colliery and the Count of Flanders has 1,500,000 fr. invested in the ironworks.

It was agreed that these atrocities should be denounced by an address from the Council which Cit. Marx was commissioned to draw up and lay it before the next meeting,**** to which the Secretary should invite the attendance of delegates from trade societies.

* Coomans.—*Ed.*
** Pirmez.—*Ed.*
*** Kamp.—*Ed.*
**** See pp. 312-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

A letter from Belgium announced that there was a party at Brussels who would not conform to the policy of the Central Committee but desired to be affiliated as an independent branch.[98] In case an application should be made to this effect the Council was asked not to comply till after the Congress.

The master builders of Geneva, it was announced, had given in* and the Bootmakers had joined the Association.[99]

The *Secretary* read a draft of a letter to the French branch which [was] approved of.

The Council adjourned a quarter to 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING***

April 27

Members present: *Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner,* Mrs. *Law, Lucraft, Marx, Müller, Ross.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were [read] and confirmed.

The *Secretary* announced the receipt of letters from Yarrow of Whitechurch and Yale, the Secretary of the United Trades Council of Dundee. Yarrow gave his reasons why he had [not] been able to do anything yet. The Dundee Trades Council desired information as to the aims of the Association and how they might assist in the good work.

The Secretary was instructed to reply and forward documents.

* See p. 77 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 209-11 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. Jung had received a letter and documents from the Typographical Society of Geneva to be forwarded to the London Compositors' Society; the Secretary was instructed to see Mr. Self and deliver the papers to him.

The address on the Belgian outrages being in order, Cit. *Marx* stated: since he had accepted the commission,* fresh outrages had been committed, the particulars of which had not arrived in time to be available; he therefore proposed that the matter be postponed till the next meeting. He was also of opinion that something more ought to be done, but in the absence of so many English members the Council could hardly decide what course to pursue. If Mrs. Law could read the original reports he was sure she would make use of them to bring the matter before the British public.

Mrs. *Law* stated that she would be glad at any time if she could advance the interests of the Association.

The *Secretary* stated he had forwarded the report of Hins to four daily papers but none had inserted it.**

Cit. *Jung* interpreted a letter from Brussels, according to which the Secretary of the Central Committee Hins was arrested and domiciliary visits had taken place at all the residences of the members of the Central Committee. Three had attended meetings, since one of whom had been arrested. All the Belgian sections had issued protests against the conduct of the Government, and the Swiss section had sent an address of condolence.[100] The letter stated too that a man named Delesalle, who had formerly been a member, had brought some trouble upon himself by going about in an excited and partly intoxicated state. He had received a telegram that men had been killed and wounded by the soldiers to which he replied by telegram: courage, my friends, and had gone about beer-houses,

* See p. 88 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** This sentence was apparently inserted in the Minutes on their approval at the next Council meeting.—*Ed.*

making foolish and inconsidered remarks which had led the police to infer that there was a conspiracy on foot.

It was agreed that the Secretary should summon all the Council members and delegates from the affiliated societies for the next meeting.

Cit. *Marx* read an article from *La Démocratie,* by General Cluseret, a member of the New York branch, against the slanderous attacks in *Le Peuple,* a Bonapartist paper, which [article] the Secretary was instructed to translate and forward to the weekly papers for publication.[101]

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had been applied to to furnish an account of the spread of trades unionism in Germany for the use of Mr. Mundella, the seconder of the Trades Union Bill now before the House of Commons[102]; it was to be made use on the occasion of the second reading.

Marx said that he sent all his reports away and *Eccarius* stated he knew very little about the particulars.

Cit. *Müller* announced that [he] was going to Switzerland, but that his society would appoint another delegate.

The following statement appears in the *Cigale* of April 25.

To the members of the new Brussels section of the International Working Men's Association, called the Revolutionary Branch.

Citizens, Your brothers of the French branch of London can but say to you, you have well done.

In effect: When a section retards the march of the Association prescribed by its Rules;

When indifference in political matters is lauded;

When propagandism is anti-revolutionary;

When one covenants with the cause of the working men;

When men are excluded on account [of] being guilty of being revolutionists;

When religious fanatics and supporters of monarchy are admitted into the ranks;

When coteries arrogate to themselves all the rights to agitate and direct;

When people free themselves from all the acts signalised by you, we must repeat that you have well done.

Six years ago the French branch was founded at London for the purpose:

1. To renew the ties with the revolutionary tradition;

2. To establish and draw closer the ties of solidarity among all the revolutionists.

After five years of struggle, the French branch, true to its principles, was forced to break with the Central Council, for the same reasons which have made you break with the Brussels Committee. We, the members of the French branch, call out to you: Courage and Perseverance.

Fraternal salute in the name of the French Branch.

The Secretary *Monthus*

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

R. APPLEGARTH, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

May 4

Members present: *Applegarth, Bernard, Boon, Buckley, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Zabicki,* delegates from No. 1 Lodge of the Bricklayers' Society, the Alliance Cabinet-Makers, Day-Working Bookbinders.

Cit. *Applegarth* in the chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from George Julian Harney of Boston, U.S., who expressed his satisfaction at the progress and the principles of the Association and enclosed £1 as contribution, asking for a receipt as he had sent money to the Reform League once without ever receiving an acknowledgment.[103]

Cit. *Marx* read an appeal to the workmen of America on behalf of the horse-railway conductors and cart-drivers

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 212-13 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

who reiterated his assurance of support to, & sympathies with the Association. &
Cit. Jung announced the receipt of a letter from a young Belgian proposing to
residing at present in Wales, who desired to become a member of the
Association & act as one of its most devoted Champions.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons announced the formation of
a new section at Richard, & Cit. Urbain was travelling to establish new
branches. The letter contained a cheque for 6 L. 7 S. 0. of which 10 fr were
for the St. Etienne section the rest for Lyons.

Cit. Marx then called the attention of the Conference to the circumstance
that many members of the Association had been arrested in France &
that the government papers had endeavoured to spread abroad that
the Association was implicated in a pretended plot against the emperor.
To refute those insinuations he proposed the following:

> On the occasion of the last pretended complot, the French government
> has not only arrested many members of our Paris, and Lyons sections, but continues
> to incriminate with anger that the International Workingmen's Association is an
> accomplice of that pretended complot. According to the laws of our Statutes, it
> is evidently the special mission of all our branches in Europe, as in the United
> States, to act not only as centres for the organisation of the
> working class but also to aid, in their different countries, all political movements
> tending to the accomplishment of our ultimate end, viz: the economical emancipation of the working class. At the same time, those statutes, while calling all the
> sections of our Association to act as the champions & organs of our whole body,
> were not framed on that point, the organisation of our Association which
> embraces, on both sides of the Atlantic, workmen of every form of
> development of social society. If the working class, on whose shoulders rests the great task of
> all nations, who produced all these wealths, and by the mere exertion of
> its emancipating powers always pushed towards progress, empire, they carry on
> publicly, as in open daylight, the struggle against darkness, in the full consciousness
> that without their rights no legal claims, no power.
> If the other incidents of the complot denounced by the French government
> are as false and unfounded as its insinuations against the International
> Workingmen's Association, the last complot will not thicken any more
> its long procession of gouvernements mensongers. The secret and violent
> movements of French sections are exclusively intended against
> one single person — the manipulateur of the plebiscite.

Cit. Harris seconded the proposal, which was adopted unanimously.

General Council's declaration on the persecution of members of the French sections written by Marx in the Minute Book, p. 60

in New York now on strike. They work 105 hours a week and the Second Avenue Company wants them to work an hour longer than they have done each day.[104]

Cit. *Jung* stated that letters had appeared in the *Egalité* from Naples and Barcelona where the International was welcomed. The Paris workmen have issued an election programme based upon the platform of principles of the Association. Raspail has accepted the conditions.[105]

Marx then read the draft of the address on the Belgian Massacres.*

Cit. *Applegarth* pronounced it [an] able address but thought it would be better that some particulars were given about the affair before the discussion was entered upon.

The *Secretary* then read a translation of Hins's report from the Minutes,** and Cit. *Jung* furnished some details both of Seraing and the Borinage strikes and massacre remarking that the Belgians, though worse paid than the workmen of almost any other country, had never appealed for help to foreign countries.

Cit. *Applegarth* remarked that was the old trite story. The work-people were miserable, they endeavoured to better their condition and the masters resisted, but to get the soldiers to help them must be repudiated altogether, and we could not stand quietly by while the employers cut work-people down in such a manner. He thought it was the duty of all to help. The address was*** more than a denunciation of wanton outrages, it was a description of a state of things and ought to be circulated throughout the country.

Cit. *Brightwell* and *Gardner* stated that appeals for money must be made to their Executive.

Eccarius was in favour that the address be printed.

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* See pp. 312-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 86-88 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** Here the words "not only" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* said there were two issues involved. First, the right of the workmen to strike and second the fate of the Association, which must do something to manifest its power.

Cit. *Hales* said the address would do much to spread information at home, we ought to educate the people at home on such matters.

Cit. *Weston* had been delighted by hearing the address read. The Association ought to show by its taking action that it was a power and taking action would make it a power. The heinousness of the actions of the capitalists* must be exposed to the workmen of other countries.

Cit. *Applegarth* thought it was an excellent opportunity to give the people of this country a notion of what was going on abroad; he had learned much at the Council board, and if from time to time an abstract of the proceedings of the Council was printed, it might [be] circulated with the trade society reports.

The proposition of Cit. *Hales,* seconded by *Eccarius,* that the address be adopted, printed and circulated was then carried unanimously.

Instructions were given to the Secretary to get 1,000 printed,[106] to send to the press and to the societies affiliated as well as those with whom we were [in] correspondence some copies gratis and sell the rest, having the price printed on them.**

Maurice proposed that bills be printed to advertise the resolution in the rooms of the trade societies.***

B. LUCRAFT

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* The words "actions of the capitalists" were written instead of the word "offence" that was crossed out.—*Ed.*

** Further the sentence "The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*** This sentence was inserted into the Minute Book on approval of the Minutes at the following General Council meeting.—*Ed.*

Council Meeting May 4.
Members present: Delegate from Sergeant-at-Arms Bernard Buckley, Depart. Exercises. Hatch, Jung. Lesser, Mora, Maurice, Stipney, Jakubski; Delegates from 81 Lodge of the Brickayer's Society, & Allgemeine Cabinet Makers, Degumming Bandleaders

To the Impartial, Intelligent and Sympathizing People of the City of New York:

The undersigned, in behalf of the WORKING MEN'S UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, beg to call the attention of the People of the City of New York to the onerous, unjust, and it may be called inhuman exactions made on the conductors and drivers of horse railroad cars and other public vehicles, in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, as to the working hours and beggarly compensation.

The undersigned confidently believe the justice of the cause of these working men will at once manifest itself to the public. Nevertheless, we beg to commend it to favor by presenting the following statement of existing grievances:

The persons so employed are mostly heads of families, who need a support for themselves and those dependent on them. It is their desire to perform all the duties of good citizens, and to raise their families in respectability and honesty.

Under existing regulations they are unable to visit their homes during the hours of daylight, and become strangers to the faces of their own children. From twelve to seventeen hours' work is required for a day's work, and the employers of the Second Avenue R. R. Co. are now resisting a demand of eighteen hours as a day's work! The average time is fifteen hours, and includes Sundays and holidays, all seasons of the year, and often exposed to the most inclement weather. On some of the railroads it is required that a certain number of trips daily shall be made, and in some instances the payment is by the trip; so that, if prevented by stoppages by blocking the way, or by fire, or other cause, a great portion of the day's earnings is taken from the employee, who thus loses his time, although constantly in charge of, and responsible for, the horses and property of the company. At early hours of the morning and late hours of the night, in summer heat and through winter snow, they faithfully labor on. Are not such men worthy of legal protection? Under the present exactions of their employers, will it be contended that their employment is not degrading, destructive alike of morals and health? Do they enjoy any of the opportunities for improvement or the enjoyment of domestic comfort accorded to others of the working classes? Is it to the advantage of the STATE that the condition of an industrious class shall be that of *serfs*, and that their children shall grow up to inherit the burdens of their fathers in ignorance and uncontrolled?

Do not the Public, whose Servants they are, owe them Protection?

Shall not their hours be established and their compensation fixed by law? Is it asking too much of the corporations created by legislative act, and by legislative favor enjoying as gifts valuable franchises, to compensate their employees at a just rate, and to exact only reasonable hours for a day's work? No class of working men are so inadequately paid for their services. Protection is all these men seek! Can any reasonable objection be urged against the justice of their cause?

We earnestly solicit your careful investigation of these allegations, and hope to receive your active influence and support.

Leaflet issued by the striking workers of the New York horse-railroad cars pasted into the Minute Book

*COUNCIL MEETING**

May 11[107]

Members present: *Buckley, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Cohn, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Odger, Ross.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read.**

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had announced that the Shipbuilders' Society of Amsterdam had joined the Association, which was not reported. Agreed to have it reported in the next.

Cit. *Maurice* objected that a proposition he had made was not added. The proposition was added and the Minutes confirmed.

Cit. *Lessner* called the attention of the Council to the Secretary's report in the *Bee-Hive*. The Secretary had put himself forward and suppressed Cit. Marx's name as the mover of the Belgian address.

The *Secretary* denied that he had put himself forward in any shape but [said] that he had omitted the name of the mover of the address intentionally, not to give people a chance to say it was Marx's address and not that of the Council. If he had committed a wrong he would rectify it by a declaration in the next report in the *Bee-Hive*, and the Council might pass a vote of censure upon his conduct.

Cit. *Lessner* handed the *Bee-Hive* to the Chairman to read the parts of the report complained of.

The *Chairman* read, "The Corresponding Secretary for America for the English language read a letter from Mr. Harney", etc., further on, that Marx and others had spoken in favour of the address.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 214-18 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here the word "confirmed" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

Eccarius contended that he was Corresponding Secretary for the English language for America.

Cit. *Lessner* said everybody knew that Cit. Shaw was the American Secretary[108] and he had not been at the meeting.

Eccarius was under the impression that Shaw had been nominated to complete the names on the cards, because all the American correspondence that had been done during the last 12 months he had done.

Cit. *Marx* said **Mr. Eccarius** must not be permitted to use the names of Council members as he liked. He did not care about having [his] name mentioned, but instead of being the originator of the address, his name appeared amongst the supporters. It looked as if the Council was ashamed of what he did. He was not particular about his name, there was no need of mentioning names at all in the *Bee-Hive* reports, but the German Secretary was an entity, not a nonentity.*

The *Secretary* wanted to know on what particular occasion he had failed to acknowledge the services of the German Secretary and that it would be best that somebody should approve the reports before publication.

The *Chairman* on reading the report had been struck with the idea that it was a bungling report.

Cit. *Jung* said Eccarius had been appointed American Secretary for the English and he did not think that any intentional fault had been committed.

No other member rising to speak upon the question, the *Secretary* read a letter from Cit. Applegarth stating the reason of his absence and requiring a dozen copies both of the Congress resolutions** and the Rules.

John Smith of Whitechurch, Dorsetshire, announced in

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* Here the words "and he wanted his services acknowledged as such" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 284-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

a letter that the Co-operative Society of which he is the Secretary was not inclined to join the Association but if his individual adhesion was any use he desired his name to be put on the list of members and he forwarded his contribution in stamps. The principles of the Association were not new to him; he had joined the Chartists in 1838, and the Fraternal Democrats in 1846[109] and thought that any society must be good to which the name of Odger was attached. He enclosed a copy of an address that had appeared in the Blandford paper* to the Belgian miners by a Brussels committee styling itself the Revolutionary Committee of the International Working Men's Society, recommending killing, massacring, etc., till complete liberty was granted them, and offering to send them arms.

Cit. *Odger* proposed that it be repudiated.

Cit. *Jung* seconded, observing that it was a cowardly trick for people who were in safety themselves to excite others to fight and promise them arms. If he approved of the means recommended, he should not be afraid to go and fight himself.

It was unanimously agreed "that the authors of that address were in no way connected with the International Working Men's Association, and that the Council entirely repudiates such means of redress."**

Cit. *Cohn* stated that, having seen some reports in the papers that the cigar-makers of Antwerp were going to strike, he had made some inquiries to which the men of Antwerp had replied that they knew nothing about it and that the masters must have spread the report. Both societies of Brussels as well as Antwerp were going on

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* Reference is apparently to the newspaper *Blandford Express.* The words "that had appeared in the Blandford paper" are written between the lines.—*Ed.*

** The resolution in quotation marks is a clipping from the report in *The Bee-Hive,* May 15, 1869, pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

well and they would join the International Association as soon as their financial year expired.*

Cit. *Jung* announced that the members of the Brussels Committee were still in prison; there were about 200 men arrested altogether, some of whom would no doubt be set free.

Cit. *Marx* had received one pound sterling for the Belgian sufferers from Manchester.[110]

Cit. *Cottam* was announced as being present having brought the cards. He stated that on a former occasion he had waited a long time for the money but that he could not do so now. He should like to have a part at once and the whole settled by 15 of June.

Cit. *Jung* stated when the order had been given there had been money enough in hand to pay the whole but that was not the case now.

It was agreed that Citizen Cottam should be informed of the decision of the Council the following morning.

Cit. *Marx* then rose and said that most members would have seen a letter from Professor Goldwin Smith in the *Bee-Hive* respecting the impression made in America by the speech of Senator Sumner,[111] and he, Cit. Marx, had received letters to the same effect from America and he thought it was a proper occasion for the Council to appeal to the working men of America to put a stop to these** menaces of the Republican Party. With this intention he had drawn up an address to the National Labour Union of the United States which, if approved of by the Council, should be adopted and sent to America. He then read as follows:

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* Here a newspaper clipping (*The Bee-Hive*, May 15, 1869) heavily edited in hand is pasted into the Minute Book. The first two lines of the clipping ("A Dutch Shipbuilders' Society announced to have joined the Association, the first affiliation in Holland") are crossed out.—*Ed.*

** Here the words "warlike public" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE NATIONAL LABOUR UNION OF THE UNITED STATES*

Fellow-workmen.—In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic."[112] Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the civil war suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American ploughshares into swords, would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast-growing international co-operation into an internecine war?

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln[113] on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American civil war would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American

* Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, May 15, 1869, containing the address is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*



war of independence had proved to that of the middle class. And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the States themselves, an independent working-class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the civil war was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessaries, says one of your statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent, while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent, those of skilled labour 60 per cent only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats,[114] and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the civil war did compensate by freeing the slave and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the Old World's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing asunder those of the slave. The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

On you, then, devolves the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility,

and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, British nationality:

R. APPLEGARTH, carpenter; M. J. BOON, engineer; J. BUCKLEY, painter; J. HALES, elastic web-weaver; HARRIET LAW; B. LUCRAFT, chair-maker; J. MILNER, tailor; G. ODGER, shoemaker; J. ROSS, bootcloser; R. SHAW, painter; STEPNEY, COWELL; J. WARREN, trunk-maker; J. WESTON, handrail-maker. French nationality: E. DUPONT, instrument-maker; JULES JOHANNARD, lithographer; PAUL LAFARGUE. German nationality: G. ECCARIUS, tailor; F. LESSNER, tailor; W. LIMBURG, shoemaker; MARX, KARL. Swiss nationality: H. JUNG, watchmaker; A. MÜLLER, watchmaker. Belgian nationality: M. BERNARD, painter. Danish nationality: J. COHN, cigarmaker. Polish nationality: ZABICKI, compositor. B. LUCRAFT, Chairman; COWELL STEPNEY, Treasurer; J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary.

London, May 12, 1869*

Cit. *Odger* took objection to the word *vermin.*

Cit. *Lucraft* rather preferred it and Cit. *Marx* stated that no other word could be substituted without altering the context.

After some conversation the address was adopted upon the proposition of Cit. *Dupont* seconded by Cit. *Odger.*

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

It was agreed that all the Council members should sign it and that their occupation should be stated.[115]

Cit. Jung was then called upon to give an account of the balance in the treasury. He answered that the balance amounted to 5.17.10.

It was then resolved that Cit. Cottam be paid £4.

It was suggested that the Treasurer* should be asked for a loan of £5 but Cit. *Jung* was rather reluctant to do it.**

*COUNCIL MEETING****

May 18

Members present: *Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Marx, Stepney.*

Cit. *Applegarth* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* stated that the leader of the Committee that had been disavowed at the previous meeting was an ex-commissary of police.

Cit. *Dupont* read a letter from Marseilles stating that the joiners had voted 463 against 7 to strike work and had struck accordingly.

A letter from the Editor of the *Opinion Nationale* stated that the Belgian address**** would be inserted as soon as the election matter was disposed of.[116]

Cit. *Jung* read from the *Egalité* that the carpenters, painters, plasterers, and tanners of Lausanne had resolved upon establishing truck societies.[117]

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* Stepney.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 218-19 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** See pp. 312-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

A number of the gilded youth of Geneva had assaulted two compositors on strike (accompanied by their families) in the public streets. Two had been arrested but soon let go.

The president of the Paris Compositors' Society had been sent to Geneva to endeavour to bring about an understanding between the men now on strike and their employers, but the employers had objected that they could not treat with foreigners. Out of the 8 masters only 4 were Swiss.[118]

Cit. *Eccarius* stated that, according to the *Volksstimme* of Vienna, the work-people of that town demanded unrestricted freedom of combination and had held several mass meetings to make their demand heard.[119]

Cit. *Marx* stated that the United States Government wanted war for more reasons than one. It would reconcile North and South and satisfy the military party.

Cit. *Jung* stated for Bernard that a society of Belgian miners had issued an address in which hopes of better times were held out when the mines become common property.

The shipbuilders of Amsterdam had struck for reduction of the hours of labour. They had been in the habit of working from 5 o'clock a.m. till 7 o'clock p.m., but required that in future their working day should commence at 6 o'clock a.m. and end 6 o'clock p.m. for 2 florins a day.[120]

Cit. *Marx* stated that at a meeting at Antwerp a capitalist had made a speech against the International Association. A workman had spoken after to answer him but he had not stopped to hear the reply.

The Secretary was instructed to send subscription sheets to the affiliated societies.[121]

One pound was collected for the Belgian sufferers.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

May 25

Present: *Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Stepney.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Jung* called attention to two mistakes in the report of the *Bee-Hive*[122] which the Secretary was instructed to correct.

The *Secretary* announced that the Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners had granted £2 for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. *Boon* stated that his time did not permit him to attend regularly, but [he] had someone to propose who would be able to render good services. He proposed Mr. George Harris and Mr. Townshend as members.

Eccarius and *Jung* seconded.

Cit. *Lessner* proposed Mr. Fraser, seconded by Cit. *Maurice.*

Cit. *Dupont* read a letter from the Secretary of the Paris Bronze-Workers' Society who wanted some information from the Council about the Belgian affairs. Many people in Paris knew nothing at all about it, as only short and scattered despatches had been published in the Paris papers. The Bronze-Workers had opened a subscription; the Marble-Cutters had already sent off 50 fr. He thought that the question might be added to the Congress programme respecting the influence of trade societies in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. The causes of the universal want of employment might also be discussed with advantage. He sent a printed draft of rules

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 219-20 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

for the federation of trade societies and wishes to have the opinion of the Council upon it. The Bronze-Workers will send a delegate to the Congress. The society has voted shortly to reimburse the English trade societies who have lent money during the strike.[123]

Cit. *Jung* stated that the *Democrat of Baselland*[124] was praising the German working men for their perseverance in contending against all the obstacles that stood in their way while the Swiss with greater freedom of action moved but slowly.

A manifesto from the Barcelona section had been published in the *Egalité* in which it was stated that the revolution had freed Spain from one tyranny, the political, and that the time had come to overcome the social tyranny which could only be done by the united action of the working class.[125]

The *Secretary* thought that the Council ought officially to express its sentiments about Madame Hins of Brussels whose death, if it had not been caused by proceedings of the Government officials, had certainly been accelerated.[126] After some conversation the following was agreed to:

"The Council deeply sympathises with Eugen Hins in the sad affliction that has befallen him through the premature death of his wife Jeanne, born Brismée, and expresses its abhorrance at the cruel treatment she met with from the authorities shortly before her untimely end."

It was stated that all the members of the Brussels Committee who had been imprisoned were released, but that further domiciliary searches had taken place, and all the Committee members were summoned to appear before the Judge of Instruction.

Cit. *Lessner* announced the death of Peter Fox at Vienna after 5 days' illness.

Cit. *Dupont* read a statement from the London *International*[127] containing some falsehoods about the Association to which he wished to send a reply.

The proposition was*...

The Secretary was instructed to write to the societies for their contributions.**

*COUNCIL MEETING****

June 1

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Stepney, Lucraft, Applegarth, Walton, Zabicki.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Letters were read from Yarrow, of Eastbourne, Ironfield of Sheffield, and the Secretary of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers who had voted £3 for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. *Zabicki* handed in 8s. collected amongst his friends.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the Amsterdam section had constituted itself the Central Section for Holland.[128] They were publishing fly-sheets containing the grievances of the work-people and the aims of the Association. This was preparatory to publishing a newspaper under the title the *People's Standard.*****

A bulletin had been published at Naples containing an appeal to the workmen to join,[129] the Rules of the Association were also to be published, and a regular newspaper to be started in June.****** An Italian section had been founded at Geneva.

The police of Geneva had taken to making assaults on work-people and arresting them and keeping them in prison over night and the magistrates discharged them in

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* A gap in the MS.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 221 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** *De Standaart des Volks.*—*Ed.*

***** *La Fratellanza.*—*Ed.*

the morning. At Lausanne the bricklayers had struck for 40 centimes an hour, the labourers and wheel-barrowmen for 30 centimes an hour; the Council had called the military under arms to "protect individual liberty" and ill-treat suspected workmen.[130]

On the proposition of Cit. *Lessner*, seconded by *Eccarius*, it was agreed to borrow 7s. 6d. from the Belgian fund[131] to pay Leno.

50 copies [of] resolutions* to the Co-operative Congress.[132]

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

June 8

Members present: *Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Limburg, Ross, Stepney.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from W. H. Sylvis, President of the National Labour Union, U.S., acknowledging the receipt of the address.[133]

A letter from J. Smith, Whitechurch, was received enclosing 1s. in stamps for the Belgians. Another from the West End Bootclosers' Society announcing that 10s. had been voted for the Belgians. A letter from Citizen Applegarth containing 10s. from H. Buckmaster of the Science and Art Department, Kensington Museum, and a letter from the Secretary of No. 1 Lodge, Bricklayers,

* See pp. 284-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 222-23 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

acknowledging receipt of subscription sheet and promising to try what can be done; a letter from Harry, Chelsea Carpenters, demanding more Belgian addresses,* but too late, and a letter from the Liverpool Cigar-Makers recommending James Samuelson to be furnished with Continental addresses.

A letter from Murat in Paris was read stating that he had written a long letter which was waiting for the Friend who brought the last, but had not yet fetched the answer. The Bronze-Workers had sent for him to hand over the money they owed to English societies for transmission, detailing the various items. While supporting other trades they had reduced their debt from £1,800 to £200. Referring to the elections[134] he stated that they had taken place under high socialist pressure and everybody now talked about the social** question. The *Voix du Peuple* had published a favourable article on the Congress programme[135]; the Engineers were going to appoint two delegates.

A letter from Marseilles stated that the strike of the Joiners was still going on. Many of the men had been members of the Association before the dissolution of Paris.[136] They required assistance in two ways: 1. Loans; 2. Moral support. All the men in the trade had joined. The Society had only been in existence for a few months and depended entirely on the pecuniary support of others. The masters had resolved to starve them out; the men had come to the conclusion that they could work without the masters by starting co-operative workshops but the difficulty was to put it into practice.

A conversation ensued which elicited a general opinion that there was no chance of obtaining money at present from English societies.

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* See pp. 312-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Here the word "reforms" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Lessner* moved and *Ross* seconded that the French Secretary* be instructed to write to that effect.

According to the *Internationale* of Brussels, the Ship-joiners of Amsterdam** had gained the rise of wages but not the reduction of working time. A report would be published to show what part the government had taken in the strike.[137]

Citizens Harris, Townshend, and Fraser were unanimously accepted as members of the Council.

Cit. *Lessner* proposed and *Eccarius* seconded that the Standing Committee should meet to draw up the Congress programme and report not later than Tuesday, June 22.

Cit. *Ross* called the attention of the Council to the fact that Citizen Odger had incurred about £10 expense in his election canvass for Stafford, towards the defraying of which any subscriptions would be acceptable. The committee for promoting working men's representation would be made permanent[138] so that any surplus that might accrue would be reserved for future purpose.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL****

June 15

Members present: *Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Stepney.*

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* Dupont.—*Ed.*
** See p. 105 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 223-24 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

A letter was received from Gaspar Sentiñon, a Spaniard residing in Eastern Prussia, desiring to [enter] in correspondence with the Secretary of the Barcelona section,* which he intends to join in preference to any other, as he is going to return to Spain.

A letter was read from Citizen Varlin of Paris, the Secretary of the Bookbinders' Society, complaining that he had received no news from the Council which was the more surprising as the Paris Bookbinders' Society was now the only Paris section. He wanted an explanation why the Congress programme had been communicated to the Paris papers and not to him. Respecting the riots he stated that they had been got up by the police[139] to have an excuse to arrest and prosecute certain people among whom were the members of the late Committee: Combault, Murat, Tolain, Limousin and others.[140]

Cit. *Dupont* said the reason why he had not written was because he had not received any letters, which, according to the Rules, it would have been the duty of Cit. Varlin to send.

Citizen Dupont was instructed to reply.

A letter from the German Committee of Geneva[141] was read containing a proposition to be added to the Congress programme, viz.: How can the working class arrive at collective property and thereby annihilate the antagonism of classes. Complaints were made about the German section represented by the *Felleisen*[142] as well as those who had voted in favour of the association of Nuremberg[143] of not rendering the necessary support. Complaints were also made of not having received the addresses issued by the Council officially.[144]

Cit. *Jung* stated that he could not have sent them before

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* Rafael Farga Pellicer.—*Ed.*

because he had no translation and the* original had been forwarded by the Secretary.**

Cit. Jung was instructed to reply.

In a letter from the Brussels Committee[145] two questions were proposed to be added to the Congress programme, viz.: The organisation of justice in the future and the federation and organisation of provident, friendly and insurance societies.

Cit. *Hales* proposed and *Lessner* seconded to refer the matter to the Standing Committee to report next Tuesday. Agreed.***

*COUNCIL MEETING*****

June 22

Members present: *Bernard, Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Ross.*

Cit. *Dupont* in the chair.

Letters were read from the Secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union inviting the members of the Council to attend a conference on technical education[146]; from the Secretary of the Birmingham Trades Council requesting to be informed whether the Council of the International will send a delegate to the working men's congress to be held at Birmingham,[147] and one from the Secretary of the Rendal Shoemakers' Society enclosing 5s. for the Belgian sufferers.

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from Solingen, the writer of which stated that the conviction that the labour question could

* Further the words "paper containing" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

** In the MS the word "General" is crossed out before "Secretary".—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

**** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 224-25 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

only be settled by international combination was spreading more and more. Alluding to the so-called free religious communities[148] he remarked that they consisted of shopkeepers and suchlike people who were opposed to the advance of the working class; they had simply thrown the old God of the Bible overboard to put mammon in his place.

The bookbinders of Leipzig are anxious to contract international alliances with the bookbinders of other countries. Some of their branches have entered our Association.

A letter from Brussels acknowledged the receipt of 100 francs from London for the Belgian sufferers.

Upon the report of the Standing Committee the following was agreed to as the programme of the next Congress:

1. The question of landed property;
2. The right to inheritance;
3. To what extent can credit be immediately utilised by the working class;
4. The question of general education;
5. The influence of trades unions upon the emancipation of the working class.

It was further agreed that the order of proceedings be as follows:

1. Verification of Credentials;
2. Election of Congress officers;
3. Report of the General Council and reports of branches and sections;
4. Discussion of the questions on the programme;
5. Appointment of the seat of the General Council for the ensuing year;
6. Election of the members of the General Council;
7. Appointment of time and place of meeting of the next Congress.[149]

It was further agreed that a notice be appended to the programme stating that the statistical inquiry is still proceeding.

A resolution that the discussion of the questions of the programme commence at the next meeting closed the proceedings.

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS

*COUNCIL MEETING**

June 29

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft,* Mrs. *Law, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from the office of *Lloyd's Newspaper* demanding £1 7s. prepaid to insert the Congress programme.

The *Secretary* stated that he had forwarded copies to all the daily papers and some of the weeklies. The *Daily News* had inserted it, the *Dispatch* and *Reynolds's* contained abridgements, the *Hermann* had inserted it in German and the *Bee-Hive* had crowded it in a corner and suppressed the report of the last meeting.

A circular was received from Cit. Applegarth requesting a delegate to attend the trades union deputation to the Home Secretary.**

Cit. Weston was appointed to attend.[150]

A letter was read from Marseilles regretting that the ties which bound the members together had slackened; they had no regular place of meeting, yet the presence and action of the members was perceptible everywhere. The

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 226-27 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Bruce.—*Ed.*

working classes had managed to conspire with their antagonists, the liberals, and if they went on they might have their Spanish revolution. But the democrats were now preaching peace while the socialists were for action. The irreconcilable Gambetta was already going down in estimation; if the radicals did not speedily act, their popularity would fade. Would like to send the Republican salut.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons contained complaints that his letters or answers to them must have miscarried. They have no regular organisation now at Lyons but meet often. Has been obliged to write shamefully moderate in connection with the elections. Will pay their contributions at Bâle in a lump.

Attention was called to an announcement in the *Egalité* that the Geneva police had confiscated the first five copies of the Berne and Geneva *Lantern** of which Henri Perret, the Geneva Secretary, was agent. From the same papers particulars were read concerning the riots at St. Etienne in France.[151]

Cit. *Milner* objected to so much time being devoted to correspondence: it must be abbreviated or else the discussion of the Congress questions would be impossible.

The discussion of the Congress questions was to be opened.

The first question having [been] read,** the *Secretary* read so much of the resolutions passed at the last Congress as referred to arable land.*** Between 20 and 30 delegates had abstained from voting at the Congress, and complained afterwards that the resolutions had taken them by surprise. It could therefore be disputed that the resolutions were a fair reflex of the convictions of the delegates, and for that reason the question was to be reconsidered. He was of opinion that the Council should either propose the affir-

* *La Lanterne de Berne et Genève.—Ed.*
** See p. 114 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** See pp. 295-96 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

mation of the resolutions or substitute another for the adoption of the next Congress.

Cit. *Milner* had no doubt about the Council being in favour of converting the land into national property, but the reasons ought to be stated in detail to answer the objections of those who thought different. He was not exactly prepared to enter upon the subject just that moment, but if there was no objection he was willing to commence on the next meeting-night by moving the affirmation of the resolutions of the last Congress.

It was then agreed that the hour of 9 be fixed for the commencement of the discussion.

The meeting adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 6

Members present: *Bernard, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Fraser, Harris, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from** the Secretary of the Bronze-Workers of Lyons containing an appeal for a loan of 40,000 fr. to enable the bronze-workers of that town to carry on business on their own account. The appeal is endorsed by Cit. Schettel.[152] New groups of the Association

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 227-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here the words "Citizen Richard" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

have been formed in the West of Paris and at Roubaix. Jaclard is recommended as a good man in the cause.

Cit. *Marx* stated that, according to the *Werker* of Antwerp, the Amsterdam section had a paper of its own* which was attacked by all the capitalist journals who were astonished that the Association had spread into such a quiet country as Holland.

Cit. *Jung* announced that he had been furnished with patterns and lists of prices of the goods kept in stock by the Co-operative Marble Cutters of Brussels. As they had been working for masters who exported their goods to England the men wanted to do business in a similar way. The main difficulty was that the masters here were very reluctant to do business with them and offered less than the cost of the raw material for their goods. Another difficulty was [to] make sure that in accepting low prices they were not injuring the working men here.[153]

Citizens *Weston, Harris,* and *Lucraft* volunteered to make inquiries.

Cit. *Weston* gave an account of the deputation he attended** to the Home Secretary which he said had been well received and had made a good impression upon the Government who were desirous of doing something, but could not during the present session; even if they gave their assistance to the Bill now before the House it could not become law this session, but a government measure was to be passed next session. The deputation had resolved upon pressing the second reading in the House of Commons to a division.

Cit. John Palmer was nominated as a candidate to become a member of the Council by Cit. *Harris* and seconded by *Townshend.*

Cit. *Milner* resumed the adjourned debate on the land

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* *De Standaart des Volks.—Ed.*

** See p. 115 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

question by moving the following as an addendum to the resolution of the last Congress:

"Confirming the views already expressed by the last Congress that the Lands, Mines, etc., should be the property of the State for the benefit of the whole people;

"That the individual ownership of large tracts of land, mines, etc., has given a power to the few over the many, incompatible with the Freedom of a Nation;

"That the only way to realise the natural right of every individual to an interest in the soil of his country is to make Land the property of all for all."

Cit. *Milner* thought to go into the whole question would be too much like a recapitulation of what had been said already; it would require to state our reasons for the change and leave those who disagreed to state the reasons of their disagreement. The views as stated in the Congress resolution were rather mild. He agreed with the statements that the land was the free gift of nature, that it should be made common property, the property of a state established on the principles of justice, but he wished to lay more emphasis upon the rights of men to the soil. The ground stated in the resolution for the change was social necessity.* This was not ahead of the way in which the middle class dealt with great questions. On this ground the telegraphs had been bought by the Government and the railways would now follow, but we ought to be ahead of this, we must claim the conversion of the land into common property, not as a matter of expediency, but as a natural right. Thiers had gone so far as to deny the natural rights of man. But if it was conceded that man had a right to existence he must have also a right to the means of subsistence which was the land, and the only solution was to convert the land into national property. As things were at present, not [only] did the few possess a great power to the injury of

* See p. 295 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

the nation, but they could disinherit their own children; individual ownership then was despotism. The gold which formed our circulating medium could not be obtained except from the soil, for everything we were depending on the soil. There was no alternative: either the natural rights of individuals must be denied, or the land be made common property. Though generations had violated the natural rights of man, they were not forfeited, they had existed all along, but the plea of social necessity was no necessity at all for their reclamation. The claim of a right would move men to action, social necessity would not. It was very gratifying to him to have lived [till] the day when such publications as these resolutions were circulating throughout Europe and the working men of the different countries were publicly advocating the question.

Cit. *Boon* endorsed what Milner had said. He considered the claim of right preferable to social necessity. To go into the whole question of abstract right would occupy too much time, but we had an abstract right to the land since we could not live without land. The time was coming when the mines and the land must be nationalised. He was in favour of the addenda to claim the soil as natural right.

Cit. *Marx* was of opinion that Milner had not quite understood the nature of the controversy. There was no opposition to the mines and woods being made common property. The injury caused by the accumulation of land in the hands of the few was granted; it was only with regard to arable land that there was any dispute, the opposition came from the partisans of small farming; small property was the point in dispute.

The plea of social necessity was superior to the claim of abstract right. Every thing, every possible form of oppression had been justified by abstract right; it was high time to abandon this mode of agitation. The question was, under what form this right should be realised. There was a social necessity to transform feudal property into peasant

property. In England the proprietor has ceased to be a necessity in agriculture.

As for natural right, the animal had a natural right to the soil since it cannot live without it. To push this natural right to its logical consequences would land us at the assertion of every individual to cultivate his own share.

Social right and social necessity determined in what manner the means of subsistence must be procured. Social necessity enforced itself in the course of which factory had arrived, where co-operation was compulsory. The fact that no one could produce anything by himself gave the social necessity for co-operation. He was not against giving a more emphatic form to the resolutions.

Cit. *Harris* was against using any of the old phrases. If the bowels of the earth were to be made national property, why not the surface. He preferred claiming it as a right.

Cit. *Weston* was strongly of opinion that the resolution would have a better effect if made more pungent. He was not particular whether right or necessity obtained the preference, but it was milk-and-water language as it stood, it must be made more expressive. He was sure there were several members of the Council who if they would take the trouble could alter it to advantage. Small farming like manufacturing on a small scale was doomed. Science and machinery could not be applied in small farming, it must be abandoned. He had reason to believe that the individual exertions of the small farmers were more excited when they were working for themselves. In co-operation individual indifference made but a small difference in the amount they received from their labour. If co-operation succeeded to gratify the feelings of the little farmer he would readily fall in, if it could be shown that it was to his advantage to do so. He [Weston] had heard many stand up for the advantages of small farming, but he did not believe in them. He felt certain the resolutions could be put in a more

forcible form, they would not have been carried in their present form by an English meeting.

Cit. *Jung* said Milner, Boon, and Harris were in favour of claiming the right of every individual to the soil, this must lead to giving everyone his share, and if he was not mistaken, Cit. Boon was in favour of small farming (Cit. *Boon* stated that he advocated the nationalisation of the land and co-operative farming). Cit. Jung continued that it was not on the score of right that the French opposed, but they denied the necessity of making the land common property. The small farmer worked no more for himself than the wages-labourer, he worked all the days of his life to pay taxes to the state and interest to the capitalists. As for indolence, if a man was indolent in one thing it was no proof that he would be so in everything, it was simply a proof that he was in a wrong place. The opposition to the nationalisation of the land came from people who wanted to split up the land more than it was, they objected to State interference, they would not have anything to do with the State.

Citizen *Elisée Reclus* of Paris who was present as a visitor was requested to state his opinion. He said: I have but a very few words to say. The peasants know very little what is going [in] the world, they do not come to your Congresses, they do not even know that they are held; we have very little to care about them. The men in the towns are for collective property. At Brussels there was an excess of individuals, they were not the representatives of [the] whole; most working men are for collective property, it is looked upon as a recognised right.

Cit. *Marx*. The small peasantry is not at the Congresses, but their idealistic representatives are there. The Proudhonists are very strong upon the point and they were at Brussels. The Council is responsible for the resolutions; they were shaped by the Brussels Committee,[154] by men who well knew the opposition they had to deal with. I am

not against recasting them. Cit. Weston has only spoken of social necessity. We see that both forms of private property in land have led to bad results. The small man is only a nominal proprietor, but he is the more dangerous because he still fancies that he is a proprietor. In England the land could be transformed into common property by act of Parliament in the course of a fortnight. In France it must be accomplished by means of the proprietors' indebtedness and liability to taxation.

Cit. *Milner* said: I did not want to remodel the resolution, but to add something to make it strong.

Mrs. *Law* being invited to speak, said she would rather decline saying anything that night.

Cit. *Dupont* moved the adjournment of the debate.

B. LUCRAFT
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 13

Members present: *Applegarth, Bernard, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from the Secretary of the London Tailors' Association stating that the Committee of that Society had resolved to resume its connection with the International Association if it could be relieved of the past liability.

Eccarius proposed and *Maurice* seconded that the request be complied with, giving as the reasons why these liabilities had not been discharged—the lost strike and

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 231-34 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the disorganised state of the Society afterwards, coupled with law expenses arising out of the prosecutions at the Old Bailey.

The Council agreed.

A letter was read from J. Phipson of Monk Sherborne stating that he had read an announcement in the *Daily News* that the International was going to start a newspaper in English, French, and German; he wished to have the French edition and other documents the Association has published.

The *Chairman* observed there was something afloat in the shape of a new move and thought Cit. Harris would be able to give some information.

Cit. *Harris* said there had been an announcement that an International Republican Association was to be established. A meeting had been convened to which Bradlaugh had been invited; himself had been invited, but he had learnt on the previous night that it resulted from splits of various societies. The necessity of starting a working man's paper had been mooted in the *National Reformer*. Holyoake had given very elaborate instruction how it must be conducted. Harris knew nothing more of the matter.

Cit. *Marx*: The statement in the *Daily News* is that this Association is going to start a paper.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Harris* it was agreed that the statement be officially contradicted by a letter from the Secretary to the *Daily News*.

A letter was read from Lyons announcing the adhesion of the *Ovalistes** of that town, consisting of about 750 women and upwards of 300 men, to the International Association. An official declaration accompanied the letter, the contributions are to be paid at the Congress at Bâle. The *Ovalistes* being on strike, they appealed for aid.[155]

Cit. *Jung* proposed and *Eccarius* seconded that the adhesion be accepted. Agreed.

* Silk winders.—*Ed.*

Respecting the question of pecuniary aid Mrs. *Law* expressed an opinion that it would be advisable to communicate with Mr. Stuart Mill to bring the matter before the Female Suffrage Association who would meet on Saturday.

Cit. *Milner* thought it would be better if Mrs. Law attended the meeting to bring the question on herself. He proposed and *Lessner* seconded that she be deputed to attend. Mrs. *Law* consented and the Council agreed.

Mrs. *Law* suggested to make a collection among the audience she was going to lecture to on the following Sunday.

The Council approved.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had received a letter from the President* of the German Cigar-Makers' Union; there was a strike too and an appeal to help.[156]

Cit. *Lessner* resumed the debate on the land question. As to the controversy between right and necessity he said our enemies know we are right, but they say we can't alter it, therefore it becomes our duty to show that there is a necessity for an alteration and things must be altered, that a change is unavoidable because necessity has made it so. The demonstration of the necessity is more forcible than claiming it as a right.

Cit. *Lucraft*. I agree with those who think that necessity makes out a stronger case, but there is one thing stronger and that is might. I am for the land belonging to the people, but I am not for letting it out, it ought to be managed by the officers of the state. The land ought to [be] made to yield as much as possible and the government should look after it, without rent the produce would become much cheaper. The people, of course, require the power to do it; before they get that power the aristocracy will have ceased to exist.

Mrs. *Law*. I am in favour of Cit. Lucraft's remarks. I have natural inclination to look upon a freehold as a happy

* Fritzsche.—*Ed.*

thing. As to right and necessity, what is necessary is right. If you let the land to co-operative societies you will have competition. The increase comes principally through the labour that has been added. The value of the land has increased but that of labour has diminished. Everyone has a right to depend upon the fruits of the soil produced by himself. Ernest Jones said: when people ask for the land they might as well ask the tiger to cast off its claws and live peaceably with other animals. We will have to draw the claws of the aristocracy before we get the land. Whether it is let or not, some portion of the produce will have to be sacrificed for the management, or the distribution of the produce.

Cit. *Harris.* The difference between necessity and right appears to me much like the difference between a street and a road. I am here of necessity and this gives me a right to the land. If it is necessary to nationalise it, why let it out to cultivate it. If on the other hand you entrust the government with its cultivation, if you have a board who sells the produce, you will have to pay for the labour somehow, you have to pay officials and that must come out of the produce. As a democrat I want as little as possible of government. The enhancement of the value of land has either been caused by additional labour or something else. Competition is right if properly guided.

Cit. *Applegarth.* It is rather a late hour to talk of such a large question. I think the discussion has drifted away from the question. Before we dispute about letting or not letting we ought to know how to get the land. We must catch the hare before we cook it. Instead of discussing the right and the necessity you ought to devise some practical plan how to get the land. When we find that there is such a stumbling-block between us and the land as the aristocracy, our first duty is to remove that stumbling-block and we must convince the people of the necessity of removing it.

Eccarius. The natural right to the soil is the same today as with the first family of human beings, but the social necessity differs. As long as mankind could subsist on the spontaneous products of nature, the land was enjoyed in common. Even among shepherd tribes, where man has to rear and guard the animals to supply his wants, the soil is enjoyed in common, there is no distinction between one part or another. But when land has to be cultivated to obtain food, a necessity arises to devote certain portions to particular purposes and this social necessity has led to individual appropriations, to individual property. Individual property has now become an obstacle to* further progress, there is a social necessity for its abolition. That the direction of production and the distribution of the produce will ultimately become a government function, I have no doubt, but before that can come to pass, not only the aristocracy, but the capitalists, and wages-labour must cease to exist. Co-operative production is the beginning of the change and the only available means** to bring about the transformation. To end the discussion I propose that the sense of the meeting be taken whether the resolution shall be based on right or necessity and that it be left to the Standing Committee to model it accordingly.

Cit. *Milner* replied and urged necessity of giving people a clear idea of the change. The infancy of nations was passed, we could not depend upon the chapter of accidents, we must know what we were about.

The *Chairman* put the questions to vote when six hands were held up in favour of each, upon which he gave the casting vote in favour of social necessity.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* Here the word "producing" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*
** Further the words "at present" are crossed out.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

July 20[157]

Members present: *Bernard, Eccarius, Jung, Hales,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Limburg, Marx, Milner, Ross, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced the arrival of 25 thaler—£3 15s.—from Leipzig for the Belgian sufferers.[158]

A letter from Marseilles contained applications of two men to be admitted as members. The editor of the *Courrier de la Sarthe* applied for powers to act as an agent of the Association.

Mrs. *Law* reported from the Female Suffrage Association that the question of the *Ovalistes* of Lyons could not be officially entertained, but that she would have received private donations had she been provided with a subscription sheet. The Women's Club in Union Street was willing to collect subscriptions if a sheet was forwarded.

Cit. *Marx* opened the discussion on the question: The Right to Inheritance. He said the question had been put by the Alliance of Socialist Democrats of Geneva and the Council had accepted it for discussion.** The Alliance of Geneva demanded above all the entire abolition of the Right to Inheritance. There were two forms of inheritance. The testamentary right, or inheritance by will, had come from Rome and had been peculiar to Rome. The father of the Roman family had exercised absolute authority over everything belonging to his household. The Roman family-father must not be compared with the father of a family of the present day. The Roman household had included

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 234-38 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the word "because" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

slaves and clients whose affairs and interests* the head had been obliged to defend and maintain in public. There had been a superstition that when this man died his ghost remained as a watch in the house to see that things were done right or to torment if things were managed wrong. In the early times of Rome people had sacrificed to this house-god; even blood-feasts had been celebrated in his honour and to appease his wrath.** By and by it had become fashionable to compromise with this spirit by an heir-at-will. It had been the Roman immortality of the soul.*** The will of the deceased had been perpetuated by a testament, but this testament had not necessarily brought a fortune to the successor who inherited, but the will of the deceased had been looked upon as a religious duty. In course of time these heirs-at-will had laid claim to the fortune too, but even in imperial time had never been allowed more than a fourth by law.**** That pagan superstition had been transmitted to Christian countries and***** was the foundation of the right of will as at present existing in England and the United States.

The German right to inheritance was the intestate right, the family right, which treated an estate as a sort of co-proprietorship of which the father of the family was the manager. When this manager died the property fell to all the children. The Germans had known of no other hereditary rights; the Church of Rome had introduced the Roman right and the feudal system had falsified the German right,

* The words "and interests" were inserted between the lines in the MS.—*Ed.*

** The words "and to appease his wrath" were also inserted later.—*Ed.*

*** This sentence was inserted later. The following words are crossed out: "This contrivance had perpetuated."—*Ed.*

**** The words "by law" were inserted later. The following words are then crossed out: "Upon this superstition was the right of will founded".—*Ed.*

***** The words "pagan" and "had been transmitted to Christian countries and" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

because feudal property bearing a military charge could not have been divided. The French Revolution had returned to the German right of inheritance. In England we had all sorts of nonsensical things; the individual had the most absolute right to will away his property, even to disinherit his own offspring, and by this rule long after he had ceased to exist.* This right of will might be left for the middle class to deal with as it was a point which would work against the aristocracy. In Prussia only a little of a man's property could be willed away.

The working class who had nothing to inherit had no interest in the question.

The Democratic Alliance was going to commence the social revolution with the abolition of the right to inheritance. He asked would it be policy to do so?

The proposition was not new. St. Simon had proposed it in 1830.[159]

As an economical measure it would avail nothing. It would cause so much irritation that it would be sure to raise an almost insurmountable opposition which would inevitably lead to reaction. If at the time of a revolution it was proclaimed, he did not believe that the general state of intelligence would warrant its being sustained. Besides, if the working class had sufficient power to abolish the right to inheritance, it would be powerful enough to proceed to expropriation which would be a much simpler and more efficient process.

To abolish the right to the inheritance of land in England would involve the hereditary functions connected with the land, the House of Lords, etc., and 15,000 lords and 15,000 ladies would have to die before it became available. If, on the contrary, a working men's parliament decreed that the rent should be paid into the treasury instead of to the

* Further the following sentence is crossed out: "It was what kept the aristocracy in its present position and could be left to the middle class."—*Ed.*

landlord, the Government would obtain a fund at once* without any social disturbance, while by abolishing the right to inheritance everything would be disturbed and nothing got.

Our efforts must be directed to the end that no instruments of production should be private property. The private property in these things was a fiction, since the proprietors could not use them themselves; they only gave them dominion over them, by which they compelled other people to work for them. In a semi-barbarous state this might have been necessary, but it was no longer so. All the means of labour must be socialised, so that every man had a right and the means to exercise his labour power. If we had such a state of things the right to inheritance would be of no use. As long as we had not, the family right to inheritance could not be abolished. The chief aim of people in saving for their children was to ensure them the means of subsistence. If a man's children were provided for after his death he would not care about leaving them wherewith to get a living, but as long as this was not the case it would only result in hardships, it would irritate and frighten people and do no good. Instead of the beginning it could only be the end of a social revolution. The beginning must be to get the means to socialise the means of labour.

The testamentary right to inheritance was obnoxious to the middle class; with this the state could safely interfere any time. We had legacy-duties already, all we had to do was to increase them and make them progressive, as well as the income-tax, leaving the smaller amounts, £50 for instance, free. Insofar only it was a working-class question.

All that was connected with the present state of things would have to be transformed, but if testaments were suppressed they would be avoided by gifts during life,

* Further the words "by abolishing" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

therefore it would be better to tolerate them on certain conditions than do worse. First the means for a transformed state of things must be got, then the right would disappear of itself.

Cit. *Milner* said it was but natural that people should question the right of inheritance seeing that so many were disinherited. Possession was nine points of the law, and in all ages people had striven to get possession of things. If all had the same right, there would be a family right to divide, but if not, some would be dispossessed and others would keep possession for ever. Had one man a right to disinherit another? It led to dualism in the family. Possession led to dominion and dominion to slavery. Why did not the trades unionists come here to express their ideas, we wanted all opinions. Until we get something like a right to raw material we would remain slaves. What else could we do but to proclaim our right to the raw material.

The *Chairman* thought that Citizen Marx considered it injudicious to proclaim this at the Congress and preferred to propose levying a tax.

Cit. *Marx* replied: if the state had the power to appropriate the land, inheritance was gone. To declare the abolition of inheritance would be foolish. If a revolution occurred, expropriation could be carried; if there was no power to do that, the right to inheritance would not be abolished.

Cit. *Hales* thought there was a great question involved that had a painful influence upon society. There was a right of disposal different from the right to inheritance, by which a man could dispose in such a way of his property that it became injurious to the living. We found land tied up, and institutions tied up, every progress barred, should we or not declare against this right of disposal? We ought to declare that no man ought to have any right to dispose of property after he was dead.

Cit. *Jŭng* said the question had first been mooted by

a party that had sprung up at Geneva.* They had intended to do something grand and had proclaimed this. He thought it could only divert the working class from other questions. He was not in favour of the right, but he was against this question being used in a way that would do mischief. He should like to see the same plan followed as at Geneva: to have resolutions prepared to lay before the Congress.

Cit. *Weston* thought that Marx proposed to arrive at the same result by sapping the inheritance little by little. The rents from land were only about a fourth of the property, if the other was left, it would be inconsequent. All transfer of property which enabled people to live without work ought to be condemned.

The *Chairman* said Cit. Weston was mistaken about Cit. Marx proposing a roundabout way. Cit. Marx thought that the present state of things would last a long time yet and something ought to be got at once. If land became common property, inheritance ceased at once.

Cit. *Weston* said: we had nationalised the telegraphs, but not got rid of the power of people living on it.

A conversation arose as to desirability of submitting a resolution before the discussion proceeded any further.

Cit. *Marx* consented to furnish one at the next meeting.**

The debate was then adjourned to Tuesday, July 17.

B. LUCRAFT

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL****

July 27

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Applegarth,* Mrs. *Law, Limburg, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Stepney, Harris, Weston.*

* Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 137, 322-24 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 238-39 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

An appeal urging once more the necessity of making the Birmingham Labour Congress[160] a success was received and ordered to stand over.

Letters were read from Citizen Walton on the land question,[161] from Miss Phipson of Basingstoke to become a member, and [from] the Curriers' Society that they could not contribute to the Congress fund.*

A letter from Cit. Varlin of Paris was read stating that the engineers were going to send two delegates to the Congress, the bronze-workers one, the shoemakers one, the bookbinders and others were debating the desirability of being represented. The members were more than ever subjected to police annoyances.

Cit. Dupont was instructed to remind Varlin that, according to the Rules, no society could be represented at the Congress that had paid no contributions.

A letter from Marseilles stated that no answer had been received to the last [letter]. Wanted to know how adhesions could be ratified as the Congress was drawing near. All was going on well, a meeting had been held which had led to the federation of some trade societies. Required more frequent communications.

Cit. *Dupont* stated that a reaction was taking place in France in favour of the Association, but if men joining had to write to London it would become expensive. If the Council send cards the police would confiscate them; the best thing would be to appoint correspondents and empower the French to print their own cards.

Cit. *Marx* stated that the Socialist Democratic Alliance of Geneva had complied with the request of the Council[162]; he therefore proposed that they be admitted.

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* This sentence was inserted later.—*Ed.*

Eccarius seconded the proposition which was unanimously carried and the General Secretary instructed to communicate the decision to the Secretary of the Alliance.

Cit. *Cohn* stated that his society* could not send a delegate to the Congress. Their expenditure had exceeded their income by £700 within the last 18 months, but a proposition would be submitted to the next meeting to contribute to the Congress expense.

Mrs. *Law* handed £2 4s. 6d. to the French Secretary for the *Ovalistes* of Lyons and observed that ladies did not like identifying themselves with strikes.

It was then agreed to suspend the order of the day[163] to consider Cit. Dupont's proposition which ended in a resolution: That Dupont empower his correspondents to make adherents, that cards be forwarded by private opportunities until the meeting of the Congress, and that the question be submitted to the Congress for consideration and decision.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

August 3rd[164]

Members present: *Eccarius, Harris, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Ross, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Mr. Le Lubez demanding the payment of a bill sent in some years ago.

* London Cigar-Makers' Association.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 239-40 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The question was ordered to stand over till the next meeting.

Mr. Cottam, in a note, demanded the balance due to him for the cards by the 4[th] of August.

The Secretary was instructed to remind Cottam that the delay in completing the cards was the reason why he had not been paid in full on delivery and that that delay was also preventing the Council from disposing of the cards this year.

After some observations as to the possibility of raising money immediately it was agreed that the Continental secretaries should forward the following resolution to their correspondents. Resolved: "That the sections and branches of this Association who have not yet paid their contributions to the Council be reminded to do so before the meeting of the Congress,* the more so as according to §8 of the Regulations[165] no delegates of sections or branches who have not paid their contributions can be admitted to the Congress, and the Congress of Brussels had resolved that the rule shall be enforced."

The secretaries were further instructed to accompany the resolution by explanatory letters as to the state of the finances of the Council.

A letter from Geneva was read by Cit. *Jung* in which the Geneva Committee complained that for the second time within a year their place of meeting was taken away on account of the property being put up for sale, and if the Council would issue a circular advising the branches to grant them loans, they might be able to purchase the building in which they now met and which was the meeting [place] of all the societies belonging to the International.

Cit. Jung was instructed to reply that the Council did not deem it advisable to issue such a circular at present.[166]

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* The words "before the meeting of the Congress" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* announced that in consequence of splits in the old parties in Germany a congress of working men had been convened to meet on the 7th [of August] at Eisenach where a regeneration was to be effected without any sectarian differences and the position towards the International Association defined.[167] Ph. Becker of Geneva had published a programme proposing the Geneva Committee as the Central one for the German language,[168] upon which the men of Leipzig had appealed how to act. He had replied that the Council did not deal with languages but with nationalities, for that reason there were secretaries for Germany, Switzerland, France, etc.

Cit. Marx then read the text of a statement consisting of 5 points to be given as reasons against the abolition of the right to inheritance.

Cit. *Milner* thought it was rather an essay than a resolution.

Cit. *Marx* thought it was better to give the reasons and a resolution.

Upon the proposition of *Eccarius*, seconded by *Weston*, it was agreed that the text be accepted* and the discussion closed.

Cit. *Marx* remarked that the Basle Committee had added a new proposition on what they called in Switzerland "direct legislation".[169]

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by *Lessner*, it was agreed that the Education question take precedence of the Credit question and that the Education question be discussed in the next meeting.

It was further agreed that three extra meetings be held Saturdays commencing Saturday, August 14, when the discussion of the Credit question should commence, and that the Saturdays' meetings be entirely devoted to the

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* See pp. 322-24 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

discussion of the Congress questions; chair to be taken at eight o'clock precisely.

Eight shillings were received from the West End Boot-closers to the Congress fund.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

August 10[170]

Members present: *Boon, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

A letter was received from Mr. Cottam expressing a reluctant submission to be paid when money comes in.**

Cit. *Jung* stated that a section of the Association had been formed at Trieste.[171]

Several letters were read from Lyons announcing the successful termination of the recent strikes and that the formation of trade societies on the English model was progressing. The Marble-Cutters, Hatters, Cabinet-Makers were debating the question of joining and sending delegates to Basle. The officials of the various societies that have joined the International Association have been summoned before [the] prefect of*** the police. The receipt of 100 cards was acknowledged, but stated that they could not be used at present as they would furnish matter for incrimination.

Respecting the affair at St. Etienne it was remarked that the Chief Engineer of the mines had distributed the brandy,

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 241-43 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See p. 136 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** The words "prefect of" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

that the soldiers employed against the miners had received a franc a day from the companies, and that 72 men, as innocent as any one else, were awaiting their trial.

Declarations of adhesion were received from the Upholsterers' Society of Lyons, 200 from the *Ovalistes* of St. Symphorien d'Ozon (Isère), and an announcement that the adhesion of the *Ovalistes* of Lyons had been received.

Contributions were received: from individual members of Lyons 20 fr., *Ovalistes* on account 30 fr., Upholsterers 20 fr.

Cit. Richard alluded to some differences existing between him and some other Lyons members whom he designated as middle-class men[172] and who were going to form an indictment against Richard to get him into the hands of the police. Thinks they ought to be excluded from the Congress.

A letter from Marseilles was received stating that two societies had been formed which would join and send delegates to the Congress. With right of meeting half a dozen might be sent. Wanted to know how affiliations were to be effected and desired credentials.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Jung* seconded that the female president Philomène Rozan, of the Lyons *Ovalistes*, receive special credentials. Agreed.

Cit. *Marx* read a very amusing article from the *International*, the London organ of the French police, in which it was said that the Association enjoyed a universal dictatorship, that it was now occupied in filling its cash-box and as soon as that was accomplished it would decree its laws.[173]

Cit. *Weston* stated that he had made inquiries respecting the prices of marble-work; the Belgian prices of chimney-pieces were in no case below the English, but in one case two pounds above.*

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx* the Secretary was

* See p. 118 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

directed to prepare the balance-sheet and Citizens Weston and Milner were appointed auditors.*

The education question came then on for discussion.

Cit. *Eccarius* read so much of the Geneva resolutions as referred to the training and education of children and adolescents** and proposed that it be adhered to as what was to be taught. This would limit the question to determine whose business it was to look after the education and who would provide the means. As there was a difficulty in raising a large amount of taxes there were no other means but to take it out of the standing army and the established church. The reason why the two last congresses had come to no resolution was because many, particularly the French, objected to entrust the matter to the state.

Cit. *Harris* read an article from an American paper containing some remarks on the education question which agreed with the Geneva resolution.

Cit. *Marx* said there was a peculiar difficulty connected with this question. On the one hand a change of social circumstances was required to establish a proper system of education, on the other hand a proper system of education was required to bring about a change of social circumstances, we must therefore commence where we were.

The question treated at the congresses was whether education was to be national or private.[174] National education had been looked upon as governmental, but that was not necessarily the case. In Massachusetts every township was bound to provide schools for primary education for all the children. In towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants higher schools for technical education had to be provided, in larger towns still higher. The state contributed something but not much. In Massachusetts one-eighth of the local taxes went for education, in New York one-fifth. The school

* Here the words "on the education question being submitted" are crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 287-89 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

committees who administered the schools were local, they appointed the schoolmasters and selected the books. The fault of the American system was that it was too much localised, the education given depended upon the state of culture prevailing in each district. There was a cry for a central supervision. The taxation for schools was compulsory, but the attendance of children was not. Property had to pay the taxes and the people who paid the taxes wanted that the money was usefully applied. Education might be national without being governmental. Government might appoint inspectors whose duty it was to see that the laws were obeyed, just as the factory inspectors looked after the observance of the factory acts, without any power of interfering with the course of education itself.

The Congress might without hesitation adopt that education was to be compulsory. As to children being prevented from working, one thing was certain: it would not reduce wages and people would get used to it.

The Proudhonists maintained that gratuitous education was nonsense, because the state had to pay for it; of course somebody had to pay, but not those who could least afford it. Was not in favour of gratuitous college education.

As Prussian education had been talked so much of he would conclude by observing that the Prussian system was only calculated to make good soldiers.

Cit. *Milner* thought in any scheme of education the consent of all classes was required, but the working class ought to insist that with production the children ought to learn the laws that regulate the value of the produce of their labour.

Cit. *Harris* seconded that this should be taken note of.

Cit. *Jung* moved the adjournment of the debate; agreed to.

B. LUCRAFT

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

August 17[175]

Members present: *Eccarius, Dupont, Jung, Harris, Lessner,* Mrs. *Law, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Zabicki, Limburg.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Barcelona stating that the section was small in number, but of good quality; would be represented at Basle.[176]

A letter from the Sunday League reminded the Council of the fact that it was in arrears of rent.[177]

The Treasurer** was authorised to pay [for] two months.

A letter from Vienna applied for cards[178]; the Secretary for Germany*** was instructed to inquire how many were wanted and forward them.

Cit. Dupont had received the money owed by the Bronze-Workers of Paris to London trade societies.

Citizens Jung, Dupont, Lucraft were appointed to wait on the societies, to return the money and apply for contributions to the Congress.

A letter was read from Rouen stating that the contributions would be paid at Basle and that delegates would come from Paris, Roubaix, etc.

The *Secretary* announced that he had received news of the sudden death of the P[resident]**** of N.L.U., he***** was instructed to send an address of sympathy to the members of the National Labour Union of the United States.[179]

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 244-46 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Stepney.—*Ed.*

*** Marx.—*Ed.*

**** William Sylvis.—*Ed.*

***** The words "announced that he had received news of the sudden death of the P. of N.L.U., he" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

A letter from Lyons stated that the delegates to the Congress would pay the contributions.

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had attended the Carpenters' Council and thought they would send a delegate to the Congress.[180]

Cit. *Zabicki* mentioned that the building operatives of Posen (Polish) had gained their first strike; they had been assisted by the men of Berlin.[181]

Cit. *Lucraft* detailed a conversation he had had with the Secretary of the Peace Society. A tract in three languages will be distributed at the Congress.

Cit. *Marx* was against having anything to do with peace societies. The Brussels Congress had declared against the Swiss Peace Society*; the English Peace Society was against the working man.

Cit. *Reclus* stated at the Paris Peace Congress there had been persons of all denominations.

Cit. *Lucraft* stated he had seen in the newspaper-bills that there had been a fight between English and Belgian workmen, was in favour of interfering if it was anything serious.

Cit. *Marx* approved if the Council had the power to do so.

Cit. *Jung* resumed the discussion on the education. He said [he] had little to say. He differed from some of the remarks that had been made. We could not wait till class distinctions disappeared and must therefore be content with a plan that would have the consent of other classes. In America and Switzerland education was national and compulsory. Abel Smith proved that the commerce of Switzerland was larger in proportion to population than that of England; this showed some claims in favour of compulsory education. Primary education ought [to] be gratuitous, the higher would not come to the work-people. Compulsory primary education might be established all over the

* See pp. 297-98 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

world. He disagreed with Cit. Milner. Who should give the education to instruct children as to the value of labour? There was a great difference of opinion as to what that value consisted of. Reading, writing and bodily exercise would enable people to judge for themselves. Standing armies would disappear if everybody was drilled. As to the means, the property of the Church might be devoted to education. He was opposed to any kind of theories being introduced into the schools. He should like to know what Cit. Milner meant.

Cit. *Milner* said he was not going into a question that had been so much discussed. He simply urged that the Association should not lose sight of the question of value and distribution. He hoped Jung would withdraw the remark that we were not agreed what the value of labour was. Should we confess that we know nothing of the question? America was full of it. Primary education had not enabled the work-people to understand the question, the middle class and the aristocracy would not enlighten them, if we would not do so, we better give it up. He had no catechism or else he would propose it. The children's minds must be imbued with it, but he only asked that a few remarks be made about it in our statement.

Cit. *Jung* confessed his ignorance. The economists differed so much on the question that no one knew who was right. Cit. Milner assumed that the people at present must have had primary education, but that was not so. He wanted it compulsory, that children should learn to read and write.

Cit. *Harris* seconded Cit. Milner's views and wished to have primary education defined. He had endeavoured to teach children grammar and algebra and had been suspended for going too far and on that account unfitted to be a schoolmaster. The agricultural labourer knew nothing of the value of his labour. He had a hundred and twenty children under him, but they had been taken away to work

in the fields, the poor could not afford to have their children educated. In America compulsory education had made the people more grasping for money, in Switzerland it had stopped the men from selling themselves to fight for the tyrants of Europe, and in Prussia it gave instruction to murder. Unless education could be forced to higher standard than at present it was [of] no use. All our universities and colleges with the exception of the London University were bad, though they were places of education; the University of London[182] was a living protest against them, and Emerson had said we must know all the relations of life before we could educate.

Mrs. *Law* understood by education everything that would improve a human being. The working classes had to maintain all kinds of educational establishments, but derived no benefits from them. The property of the Church must be secularised and devoted to schools. We wanted fewer parsons and more schoolmasters.* The *Law Times* prophesied that the Established Church would not last another ten years, it was therefore time to stir in the matter. The dissenters would be on our side and it would induce the clergy of the Established Church to bestir themselves to find the means. Pope said the proper study of man was mankind. Milner wanted us to study what kind of a man a labourer was. Cit. Milner preferred that children should be taught what their labour was worth and how to get it. If they had been taught, they would not work so many hours. She proposed that the Church funds should be devoted to education as a part of our demand.

Cit. *Reclus* said it would be bad if the Council did not speak for equal education. We did not want a part of our rights, but the whole of them. We wanted to know the truth in all questions; our education must be as complete as possible, not only for the child of the working man, but for the rich. It might be objected we had not the means;

* This sentence was inserted later.—*Ed.*

we had the Church, the Army, the Navy representing an annual fund of £60,000,000 in France; all that would do better service if devoted to education than at present. If we had not the means to teach all, let us teach the best. Primary education must go on to an advanced age, and by a proper system of* examination the best should be selected and advanced to the highest degrees at the expense of the State. The State must give equal facilities to all males and females.

Cit. *Eccarius* observed that the value of labour was estimated differently by the two great classes of society. At present our opponents ruled the state, hence they had the power of enforcing their views of what was right; when the turn of the working men came, they would enforce theirs and make it right.

Cit.** could not accept that the value of labour was an accident. An hour's labour of one man was an equivalent for an hour's labour of another man, that must be impressed upon the rising generation. Warren in America had shown what equitable commerce was.

Cit. *Lucraft* thought we ought to have a resolution. We ought to endeavour to do something practical. If we waited till the Church was disestablished we might have to wait a long time without education. Those who had capacity ought to be advanced; the only country in which that was at present the case was Turkey. There, if a boy showed capacity, no matter who he was, he was pushed on. Was not for restricting the demand to low primary education. Was for compulsory, general and gratuitous education and the best talents to rise. According to Cit. Harris, the Americans knew the value of labour, that made them grasping for money. We should shape our demands and leave to the rulers to find the means.

Cit. *Marx* said: upon certain points we were unanimous.

* Here the word "education" is crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*
** No name in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The discussion had started with the proposition to reaffirm the Geneva resolution which demanded that mental education should be combined with bodily labour, with gymnastics and technological training; nothing had been said against that.

The technological training advocated by proletarian writers was meant to compensate for the deficiencies occasioned by the division [of] labour which prevented apprentices from acquiring a thorough knowledge of their business. This had been taken hold of and misconstructed into what the middle class understood by technical education.

As to Mrs. Law's Church budget* it would be good policy for the Congress to declare against the Church.

Cit. Milner's proposition** was not suitable to be introduced in connection with the schools; it was a kind of education that the young must get from the adults in the everyday struggle of life. He could not accept Warren as a bible, it was a question upon which few could agree. We might add that such education cannot be given at school, but must be given by adults.

Nothing could be introduced either in primary or higher schools that admitted of party and class interpretation. Only subjects such as the physical sciences, grammar, etc., were fit matter for schools. The rules of grammar, for instance, could not differ, whether explained by a religious Tory or a free thinker. Subjects that admitted of different conclusions must be excluded and left for the adults to such teachers as Mrs. Law, who gave instruction in religion.[183]

The abolition of the army had been resolved by the Brussels Congress.***

It was not advisable to bring it on again.****

* See p. 145 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** See p. 141 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** See p. 297 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
**** The Minutes break off here. Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

August 24

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Cohn, Hales, Harris, Jung, Townshend, Lessner, Lafargue, Marx, Weston, Lucraft.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* announced that he had received a letter from a land reformer in America promising to send a paper to the Congress.

A letter from Barcelona announced that a delegate would be sent by the section to the Congress.

Cit. *Harris* gave an account of an interview with Mr. Trolop respecting the Belgian marble works, that they had been found cheap, and Walker, of Salisbury Street, Portman Market, would be the right man to apply to.

It was unanimously agreed that Cit. Marx draw up the annual report.**

Cit. *Harris* proposed that the discussion of the programme be proceeded with; seconded by Citizen *Milner.*

Cit. *Hales* proposed as an amendment that the Congress delegates be appointed; seconded by *Lessner.* The amendment carried by 7 against 4.[184]

The Treasurer*** was then appealed to to give an account of the money in hand.

The money in hand amounted to £13 10s. He had repaid the Bronze-Workers' loan to the Bookbinders**** who he expected would give something to the Congress. He was going to wait on the Bricklayers' Executive who might give

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 247-48 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 326-42 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** Stepney.—*Ed.*

**** See p. 142 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

something of the £10 which was originally voted as a gift, and the Cordwainers' Executive might give the whole of the £5 they had to receive. There were besides £2 at Marseilles that might be had if required.

Cit. *Milner* thought we ought to try and get volunteers who paid their own expense and use the money to pay our debts.

Cit. *Marx* was for sending delegates with the money we had.[185]

Upon the question as to the amount of money to be given to each delegate, 6 voted for £10 and 5 for £12 with the proviso that if only one be sent he receive £12.

The ballot gave Jung 11 votes; Eccarius 11; Applegarth 7; Milner 6*; Cohn 6; Lucraft 5. A second ballot between Jung and Eccarius gave: Eccarius 9, Jung 2; between Cohn and Milner: Milner 7, Cohn 4. It was then agreed that credentials should be furnished to Council members who** had been nominated if they would go at their own expense.

Cit. *Harris* then opened the debate on the Credit question by reading a statement upon it and asserting that credit was as good a natural right to him as the land. If he could not issue his paper he had no credit.

The *Chairman* read the question on the programme*** and desired those who spoke to keep to the question.

Cit. *Weston* said when the workmen were ready to 20s. worth of labour as security for 15s. worth of credit, there would be no difficulty of obtaining it. The capitalist must have something to compensate him for the risk, but he did not mean him to appropriate the 5s. only to hold as security. A moderate fixed interest must be allowed.

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* Further the words "Lucraft 6" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*
** Further the words "might choose" are crossed out.—*Ed.*
*** See p. 114 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

If working men would lend each other money on such securities, co-operation might go on. Rise of wages and strikes would remedy the evils under which the working class was suffering,[186] and co-operation could not be carried out without credit.

Cit. *Hales* said we might go on for a month on the general question, but the question before us was a practical one. Labour-banks where trade and other societies could invest their money to be lent to other working men's societies was the only means to utilise credit immediately.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Milner* the discussion was adjourned to Tuesday, August 31.

B. LUCRAFT

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

August 31[187]

Members present: *Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung,* Mrs. *Law, Lessner, Lucraft, Lafargue, Maurice, Odger, Stepney, Townshend, Applegarth, Milner.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* announced that he had received a paper on the land question from New York by Commerford. He also received £1 from the Alliance Cabinet-Makers towards the Congress fund and a cheque for £10 from Cowell Stepney: £5 to the Congress fund and £5 towards printing the report of the Congress.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the Bricklayers' Executive had granted £5 to the Congress fund. The Hatters' Executive

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 248-51 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

could not vote any money and he had not considered it advisable to send an appeal to the trade, but the question of joining would be entertained immediately after the Congress, when a statement would have to be sent.

Cit. *Lafargue* stated that on account of illness Cit. Marx had not yet finished the report.[188]

It was agreed that a special meeting be held on Wednesday to hear the report.

Cit. *Hales* announced that the following resolution had been passed by the Trade Union Congress at Birmingham*:

[The] following resolution, proposed by Mr. *Cremer*, seconded by Mr. *Largan*, was passed:

That as local organisations of labour have almost disappeared before organisations of a national character, so we believe the extension of the principle of free trade, which induces between nations such a competition that the interest of the workman is liable to be lost sight of and sacrificed in the fierce international race between capitalists, demands that such organisations should be still further extended and made international. And as the International Working Men's Association endeavours to consolidate and extend the interests of the working masses, which are everywhere identical, this Congress heartily recommends that Association to the support of the working men of the United Kingdom, especially of all organised bodies, and strongly urges them to become affiliated to that body.**[189]

Cit. *Jung* stated with reference to the money in hand that he had £15; the *Secretary* stated he had between £7 and 8 exclusive of the £5 for the Congress reports. The liabilities of the Council were £17 5s.

It was agreed that the money that might come in till Friday night be devoted to defray the expense of delegates to the Congress.

The delegates were instructed to press the financial question seriously upon the Congress.

Cit. *Milner* then resumed the discussion of the Credit question. He was sorry the question came on when we were

* Here a clipping from the newspaper report is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

in no mood to go into it properly. Then there was the Trade Union question to be discussed. He did not feel that he had done his duty respecting this Credit question, but it was no fault of his, he had had no opportunity. Robert Owen had spent a fortune to raise the working class. Assuming that government was willing to assist how could it do so? If government aid was given other classes would be down upon it. The reformed parliament[190] had done nothing. Walton said that government aid would not interfere with the monetary arrangements [of] the country, but it would. Some time ago when there had been an influx of gold, public creditors had cried out that they must reconsider their position. Could anything be started to inspire the working classes with sufficient confidence [to] do something for themselves? Some were employed at decent wages part of their [time, and] other times they had to work cheap to accumulate stock which was sold at high prices when trade was brisk. Could not this state of things be mitigated? Unless something was [done], the machine would bring all to a low level. If each trade would set something apart to employ their surplus-hands, something might be done. Trades Unions [strive] for high wages or else refuse work. They ought to try to bring mutual exchanges [of] the products of labour about. If men could get advances on their labour, something might be done. Co-operation had only produced a new class of money-makers. The societies ought to take the matter up. By making advances to their unemployed members they might raise [wages]. Each trade should affix a stamp to the articles to warrant their genuineness. Their dealings must be based on honesty and equity, something new in trade. Hitherto working men had only striven for high wages, they ought to strive to emancipate themselves from the wages-system. If a man sent an article to a society it might add something on it. This could be done by labour notes which might in time become the current coin of

the realm. The Organisation of the International ought to be made use of to spread the idea.

The *Chairman*: this is a proposition that trade unions should advance money to their unemployed members to set them to work.

Cit. *Cohn* said it was a great question that involved so much that it was difficult to deal with it in so short a time. The credit could only be extended to the extent of the capital possessed by the working class and that was confined to such as were organised. Individual working men had no capital. The capital of societies was invested in banks and stocks. He had proposed to his society* to use part of their money for productive purposes; more than 250 had voted** for it. The goods they produced were not consumed by workmen; the question then was: would those who were consumers deal with them? A central bank ought to be established in which societies could deposit their money and where they could get advances upon it.

Cit. *Harris* said to talk of free trade under the present money system was as silly as to talk of free labour in a state of bondage. The question was not to trust the mechanic with his own money, but to abolish the money power that fattened upon other people's labour.

Cit. *Boon* said Cohn seemed to be under the impression that only men who had deposits could have credit, they had capital and did not use it. What was wanted was that: if a man deposited his labour [he ought] to get a value for it, something that [he] could go on with. If the producers could immediately realise [their commodities], they would [be] free of the capitalists. People have no idea of the value of their work. An hour's work of the dustman is worth an hour of any other man's labour. At present

* London Cigar-Makers' Association.—*Ed.*

** Further the words "against it" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

some received £1 a week, others only 15s., and they talked about equivalents! So long as men were not able to exchange labour for labour, so long they would not be free. A man who made chairs could place them in some central [store] where he would get a note of the full value which he would exchange for something else he wanted instead of hawking about and selling for less than the material costs. Shopkeeping was immoral. The producers [of] wealth were looked upon as inferior to the sellers.

Mrs. *Law* wanted to look at the difficulty. Cohn said they might take the capital to employ their members, but they could not dispose of the goods when produced. If the purchasing power could not be increased they could not get on under the competitive system. If there were a demand for the goods they could produce, capital would find it out, they wouldn't be idle; their idleness was proof that there was no demand. Boon treated the question as a moral question, but his proposition was communism. He wanted to make everybody independent of everybody; she preferred all depending upon one another. A man who took chairs to a store and claimed the full value as a right, might get value for work that is not worth anything. Unless there was a market for the chairs the store might be choked with them [till] they were worthless. To have such a store we must [have] a power that regulated what should be produced, we must have communism as Robert Owen wanted it. The purchasing power could not be increased without increasing the raw material to work with. In a state of communism the directing power would know what was required and the labour would be distributed accordingly. Under no other form could the right to labour and the value of labour be guaranteed, it could not be done under the competitive system; she was in favour of communism.

Cit. *Hales* and *Cohn* seconded the following resolution:

That the General Council recommend the establishment of Labour Banks in conjunction with Labour Exchanges so that the Capital already in the possession of the working classes may be immediately utilised for their own benefit.

Cit. *Odger* did not consider it right to pass a resolution without further discussion; he therefore moved the adjournment of the debate.

Cit. *Odger* proposed and *Hales* seconded that Messrs. Latham and Lambord be nominated as members.

A. C. CAMERON, Chairman*

* Cameron chaired the meeting on September 14 at which these Minutes were approved.—*Ed.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION FROM THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1869

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

September 14[191]

Members present: *Applegarth, Boon, Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Fraser, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Odger, Weston.* Mr. *Cameron* of Chicago, the delegate of the National Labour Union, United States, was also present.

Mr. *Cameron* was unanimously elected to take the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Eccarius proposed that the correspondence be postponed and the reports of the Congress delegates heard; agreed.

The *Chairman* then called upon Citizen *Jung* who said: My account will be short. We arrived on Saturday night and were received by men waiting for us at the station. On Sunday morning a preliminary meeting was held at which a committee for the examination of credentials was appointed. Some wanted to open the Congress on that day but it was overruled. In the afternoon we walked outside the town in procession headed by flags and music and followed by the trade societies of Basle and neigh-

* These Minutes open the third Minute Book of the General Council. They are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 1-5.—*Ed.*

bourhood. A public welcome was given to the delegates in a large beer-garden where several speeches were delivered, after which we returned. On Monday morning the credentials of upwards of sixty delegates were verified, after which the President of the Basle section* made the opening speech and then the election of officers was proceeded. I was elected president. The number of delegates was large and mostly real representative men. The representation was somewhat better than usual, particularly as we had an American delegate. Some may think that but little was done, because only three questions were disposed of. Our sittings were from 9 to 12 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the afternoon. After Wednesday we had evening sittings from 8 to 11. A good deal of time was spent in drawing up Regulations[192] which will save time at future Congresses. The arrangements for receiving and housing the delegates and for the meeting of the Congress were all in good order. Great progress has been made since the Geneva Congress.[193] In Geneva the Germans sat in one corner, the French in another, and the delegates addressed each other as Frenchmen and Germans. There was nothing of that at Basle. The press was well represented. Not only the Paris papers had reporters there, but provincial papers as well. How they have spoken about us you know better than I do. The Paris societies were largely represented. Since the imprisonment of the Paris Committee great eagerness has been displayed among the workmen of Paris to join the Association. When the delegates were questioned about the contributions they stated there was great difficulty to collect money. If the International was mentioned at any of their meetings the meeting was at once dissolved. I asked them how they managed to collect money to send delegates; they said they went round to the shops, and then I told them they

* Bruhin.—*Ed.*

might do the same to collect money for the Council. They promised to pay in future. The most important vote was that on the land question.[194] Last year there were 34 for, 6 against, and 23 abstained; this year 54 for, 4 against, and 13 abstained. No new argument has been advanced.

On our return we had a pleasant evening at Paris. The Lithographic Printers' Society gave us an entertainment at their co-operative establishment. Most of the men of Paris are in favour of common property in land. The delegates who voted against do not represent the real opinion. Murat would not have been elected but for the fact that he has suffered imprisonment for the Association. Tolain had to get credentials from the Bakers of Marseilles and Chemalé seemed rather chap-fallen. On the credit question he remarked that with common property credit would not be needed.

Applegarth said: I can only say ditto to what I have heard. I was on the Trade Union Commission but could not make myself heard. I should have liked to show what could be done with trades unions. I drew up some resolutions but the time was too short to go into them.[195] It gave me great joy to have an American delegate present. The great question was that of the land. It is rather amusing that the *Times* takes credit for our good sense and hopes that we voted against it.[196] The speeches reported in its own columns lead to the opposite conclusion. I regret that the education question was not dealt with. I hope the presence of an American delegate will lead to a substantial union and affiliation between the American working class and us. When I heard that Eccarius had written to several papers about receiving reports and got no answer I sent to the *Sheffield Independent** which has published what I sent.[197] From what I have read the tone of the speakers was better than at former Congresses.

Lucraft said: I am not so well pleased as Jung, there

* *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent.—Ed.*

was much time lost. The Council ought to draw up resolutions on the different questions. Three days were wasted on the preliminaries and reports. I felt vexed at it, but I was pleased with the way in which the delegates submitted to the President. Jung forgot to tell that we had a banquet of co-operators at Paris. We sat about 50 on each side of a long table on the premises of the lithographic printers. A strike has brought [them] to try to work for themselves and they have succeeded. When I consider all, perhaps I am as much pleased with the Congress as others.

Applegarth: at future Congresses we must supply our secretaries with proper minute books, and we must have translators for the resolutions who have nothing else to do. After the Congress was over I went to Zurich and I have learnt more there what can be accomplished with limited means in education and co-operation than out of all the Blue Books.

Lessner said there were evening meetings outside the Congress where speeches were made every night. Eccarius gave a lecture[198] and I and others spoke; a great deal of propaganda was made there. The long reports are done away with and a good many other things. I am in favour of the Council preparing the resolutions, and we must have people who are not delegates to translate and take down the speeches and we must pay them for it.

Eccarius said: we have tried in vain at former Congresses to get rid of long reports and papers readings; the thing has worked its own cure: those who formerly objected have now made arrangements to do away with it and we will get rid of the commissions too. I have only to add that the evening meetings as well as the Congress itself have exercised a great moral influence. After the other delegates had left I found that the Café National was the favourite resort of the Basle mill-owners who wanted to exterminate the Association nine months ago.

They have listened to all we had to say and I have no doubt that they are by this convinced that we are not easily got rid of. What concerns us most is [that] the Council has been re-elected.*

Jung said: there was nothing like the confusion I have seen at former Congresses. There were people who translated the resolutions. If the General Council translates them it will not have to be done at the Congress.

Applegarth: my desire is to relieve other people, who have something else to attend to, of the trouble.

The *Chairman* was then requested to speak. He said: I will not inflict a speech. My presence here is evidence that we desire a closer union with you. There are but two classes in society: the robbers and the robbed. Those who labour longest frequently get but a pauper's grave; those who do nothing get everything. We have cut ourselves loose from old party ties to put a stop to class legislation; we mean to legislate for the whole people. We have an aristocracy of wealth, you have one of birth, ours is the worst of the two. I should like you to devise some plan to regulate emigration, so that trade unionists leaving here would at once join our ranks and make common cause with us when they arrive in America. The capitalists have their agencies all over Europe: their aim is to keep American labour down and degrade it. In every instance where a dispute has arisen the threat of fetching men from the Old World has been held out. The miners of Pennsylvania worked day and night for 14 dollars a week and produced all the coals required during the year in about 7 months; the rest of the year they were idle or have to work under price. At last they would put up with [it] no longer, they demanded a reduction of their working time. The press being under the control of the capitalists, public opinion was turned against them. At our Congress,

* This sentence was inserted later on approval of the Minutes at the next Council meeting.—*Ed.*

however, the press was open to us and the miners' case was brought before the public and now a turn has taken place. The first thing I saw on landing at Liverpool were bills headed: great inducement to miners' wages from 18 to 20 dollars a week. When I examined [I saw that] the names of the very same vagabonds who are at the bottom of all the oppression in Pennsylvania were at the bottom of the bills. We have too a damnable system in the mining districts of the work-people not getting paid in the current money. All the adjacent land to mines and factories belongs to the companies and they tolerate no stores. They pay the work-people in skin-plasters, cheques on their own stores which are only worth 60 or 70 cents a dollar elsewhere, and anyone who deals elsewhere and is found out gets the sack. If the people rise against such things they are threatened with an inundation from Europe.[199] Now if any dispute occurs we could send a telegram and you could make it known here to prevent people going into the trap of the capitalists, they would be compelled to give in.

Hales proposed that Eccarius be re-elected as General Secretary; carried.

Applegarth proposed that all the secretaries be re-elected; carried.

That Stepney be re-elected as Treasurer; carried.

Applegarth proposed that a committee be appointed to consider Mr. Cameron's proposition. Agreed.

The following were then appointed: Applegarth, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Cohn, Lafargue, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Odger.

The Council then adjourned.

R. APPLEGARTH, Chairman*
JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

* Applegarth chaired the meeting on September 28, 1869, at which these Minutes were approved.—*Ed.*

*MEETING**

September 28[200]

Members present: *Applegarth, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lafargue, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Stepney.*

Cit. *Applegarth* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from Fraser regretting to have made a mistake in permitting his name to go on the list of Council members and requesting it to be taken off.

A letter from Hull enclosing contributions from Dean, and Foster Senior and Junior.

America. A letter from the Paper-Stainers, New York, requesting the Council to use its influence to prevent an exportation of men to defeat the men now on strike.

The Secretary was instructed to write to all papers of the Association abroad, and circulate it in this country as widely as he could.**

A letter from the Secretary of the National Labour Union, United States, stating that the last letter to Sylvis had found him in his grave, that it had been laid before the Congress, and that two delegates had been elected in consequence.[201]

A letter from Jessup, New York, acknowledging the receipt of the letter of condolence.[202]

Germany. A letter from the Silk-Printers and Block-Cutters of Hilden soliciting aid in consequence of a strike.[203]

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 5-7 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 343-44 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Secretary* instructed to reply.

France. A letter from Marseilles announcing the lock-out of the Basket-Makers and requesting assistance.[204]

The French Secrètary** was instructed to reply that there was no prospect of pecuniary aid.

The General Secretary was instructed to write to the London Basket-Makers.

Cit. *Jung* stated that in a report of the Peace [League] Congress published in the *Sémaphore* of Marseilles an American correspondent, Osborn Ward, was represented as a delegate of the American trade unions.

Cit. *Applegarth* said he knew Ward and was sure that he was not a delegate nor would he represent himself as such.

Cit. Dupont was instructed to send a correction of the mistake in his letter to Marseilles.

Cit. *Jung* announced the receipt of a letter from General Cluseret of New York. It was addressed to the Congress but had arrived too late.[205]

The *Secretary* reported that Leno agreed to print 1,000 copies of the Congress report of 40 pages small size or 32 pages larger size for £8.

It was agreed to have the large size and increase the number of pages, but not to exceed £10 as the cost.[206]

Report of Committee on Emigration Bureau.***

The Committee advised:

1. That an Emigration Bureau in conjunction with the National Labour Union of the United States be established.

2. That in case of strikes the Council should do its best to prevent workmen being engaged in Europe to be used by American capitalists against the workmen of America.

* Eccarius.—*Ed.*
** Dupont.—*Ed.*
*** See pp. 160-61 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

3. Mr. Cameron having promised to furnish reliable information respecting hours of labour, rate of wages, state of trade, access to land, etc., in various localities in America, no active steps be taken until such information be received.[207]

The report was adopted.

Cit. *Applegarth* proposed and *Eccarius* seconded the nomination of Joseph Shepherd as a member of the Council.

Cit. *Jung* and *Maurice* nominated Cit. Serraillier.

The Treasurer was instructed to pay £6 on account to Mr. Cottam and a quarter's rent £3 3s. to the Sunday League.

Cit. *Hales* gave notice that at a future meeting he should move that a British section of the International be established.

Cit. *Lucraft* desired that the Council should express an opinion on the conduct of the delegates at the Congress.

Hales said that he was satisfied with the proceedings on the land question.

Cit. *Milner* had nothing to say against the delegates, but he thought they had not grasped the entire subject. The credit question had received no attention whatever.

Cit. *Jung* said he considered the credit question a secondary one. Its most ardent advocates at the Congress had helped to put it aside.

Cit. *Applegarth* said if Cit. Milner had been there he would have seen that little more could have been done.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

G. MILNER, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary*

* Further the following is crossed out in the MS: "Council Meeting Oct. 5 Milner in the Chair".—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 5

Members present: *Applegarth, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Hales, Harris, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from Mr. Shorrocks at Manchester promising to circulate the notice of the paper-stainers' strike of New York** and to dispose of 100 copies of the Congress report.

A letter from the *Newcastle Chronicle* stating the price at which the notice of the afore-mentioned strike would be inserted.

A letter from Varlin of Paris stating that a meeting of the Congress delegates had been held and that they had agreed to urge the affiliation of their societies, also that the Rules would be printed, there being a good prospect to make individual adherents.[208]

Upon the suggestion of Cit. *Jung* the Secretary was instructed to apply to the Secretary of the Copper-Plate Printers to receive a deputation.

The *Secretary* announced that [the question of] Messrs. Latham and Lambord, proposed by Cit. Odger to become members,*** had not yet been disposed of.

Cit. *Applegarth* volunteered to speak to Latham.

It was agreed to postpone the election.

The *Secretary* then stated that the question of

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 8-9 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 343-44 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** See p. 155 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

pronouncing an opinion upon the conduct of the Congress delegates was in order.

Cit. *Harris* could not see how an opinion could be expressed in the absence of the official report.

Cit. *Hales* said the opinion would have to be given upon the delegates' own reports. He proposed and *Maurice* seconded a vote of satisfaction, which was carried.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed:

That the Council proceed to establish an English section of the International Working Men's Association, with a platform based upon the Congressional resolutions, to be called "The National Labour League and British Section of the International Working Men's Association".

The Association, though established in London, which had been seat of the Council since, had made more progress abroad than here. The Council had too much to do with international affairs; a body was wanted to take the national affairs in hand.

Cit. *Lucraft* seconded the proposition.

After a long discussion in which *Jung, Applegarth, Lucraft, Eccarius,* and *Harris* took part, Cit. *Harris* proposed as an amendment: "That this Council deems it necessary to establish, as soon as possible, a British section of the International Working Men's Association".

After some remarks of the *Chairman* and Cit. *Maurice,* Cit. *Weston* announced that a Conference of Reformers would meet at Bell Inn at the Old Bailey on Wednesday, October 13, to establish an association for the agitation of the land question and other working men's measures.[209]

It was then agreed to adjourn the debate.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 12[210]

Members present: *Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Townshend.*

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from Varlin of Paris stated that five societies had held meetings to hear the reports of their Congress delegates, but the commissaries of the police had stated that if the reports were to be read they must dissolve the meetings.

The shoemakers' delegate** had not presented any report, it was to be read at private meetings; but the shoemakers had declared their adhesion to the Association.[211]

A letter from Aubry of Rouen announced the strike of wool-spinners of Elboeuf and solicited aid.[212] The said spinners insist on a list of prices being fixed. The spinners of four other towns have joined in making the demand and will be on strike in a fortnight if their demand be not acceded to. Aubry had notice to leave his work on the 15th: (1) for going to the Congress, (2) for interesting himself in the Elboeuf strike, (3) for the part he had taken in the late election.[213]

Cit. *Hales* stated that there was no prospect at present to obtain any pecuniary assistance.

Cit. *Harris* inquired about the powers of the *conseils de prud'hommes* in wages disputes.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 9-10 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Simon Dereure.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Jung* replied that they had none. He further stated his opinion that the French Secretary* ought to write to Aubry to show that nothing could be done here and to advise the men generally not to rush too heedlessly into strikes.

After some observations pro and con the proposition was agreed to.

Cit. Joseph Shepherd, proposed by *Applegarth* and *Eccarius*, and Serraillier, proposed by *Jung* and *Maurice*, were elected as members of the Council.

Cit. *Hales* proposed and *Lucraft* seconded the nomination of Thomas Mottershead.

The discussion of a question of establishing a British section was then resumed.**

Cit. *Maurice* said some means must be found to make propaganda.

Cit. *Jung* considered it a necessity to establish English branches to attract some good men to advocate our cause. He was in favour of keeping the question on the order of the day, but to adjourn the debate.

Cit. *Milner* was in favour of a British section, but was afraid it would absorb the functions of the Council.

Cit. *Eccarius* said we required a British section to do things concerning this country with which the General Council as such could not interfere.

Cit. *Lucraft* saw no difficulty in branches being established by the Council. The time was favourable, but he wanted simply a British section of the Association.

Cit. *Harris* moved the adjournment of the debate.

Cit. *Hales* was willing to drop the National Labour League portion of his proposition and endorse the proposition of establishing simply a section of branches.

The proposition was carried against one.

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* Dupont.—*Ed.*

** See p. 166 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The appointment of a committee to carry out the resolution was deferred till the next meeting.

R. APPLEGARTH, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS

*COUNCIL MEETING**

October 19

Members present: *Applegarth, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Applegarth* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Edinburgh Trades Council acknowledging the receipt of a letter on the paper-stainers' strike of New York** was read.

A letter from Malon of Paris announced that the section of the United Workmen had increased to 150 and that they met in the face of the police. Another section was to be formed at Roubaix. Dupont had been written to from Roubaix but the letter must have miscarried. The democratic candidates had betrayed their trust: they declined doing anything on the 26th. The butchers, newspaper employees, organ-builders, pianoforte-makers were establishing trade societies. The Sailors' Union of Marseilles was going [to] establish branch unions in all the French seaport towns.[214] Money was being collected for the victims of Aubin and the spinners of Elboeuf.

Cit. James Parnell was admitted as delegate from the Elastic Web-Weavers' Association.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 11-12 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 343-44 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Lessner* proposed that the Congress report be signed by all the secretaries.

It was agreed that the President and the English Secretary of the Congress* should sign it.

On the motion that the committee to establish a [British] branch whose appointment was adjourned at the previous meeting be now appointed, Eccarius proposed that it should be postponed till more was known about the result of the Old Bailey meetings.[215] He was of opinion that there was a possibility of making the society that was to be established the British section.

Cit. *Harris* thought the Council should send a delegate to the meeting; he had heard that an attempt would be made on the night to reverse what had been done in the first meeting.

Cit. *Lucraft* spoke in favour of Eccarius's proposition.

Cit. *Hales* thought that it was necessary to come to some agreement as to the policy that was to be pursued.

Cit. *Milner* thought a simple statement about what we could agree was all that was required; we could wait till we were unanimous upon all points.

Cit. *Lucraft* did not think that the Council should interfere.

The appointment was again adjourned.

Cit. *Lucraft* desired Cit. Marx to say something on anything he pleased.

Cit. *Marx* said he could only state that the movement was going on well in Germany.[216]

Cit. *Lucraft* then spoke about the desirability of establishing an International newspaper, and he thought it might be done on the co-operative plan. We should never be able to do anything until we had a paper of our own.

The necessity of having a paper was acknowledged by

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* Jung and Eccarius.—*Ed.*

other speakers, but the difficulty of raising the means seemed too great to entertain the question at present.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF OCTOBER 26**

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Townshend, Weston, Stepney.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a translation of a protest by 27 trade societies' delegates of Paris against the bloody acts at Aubin.[217]

Cit. *Jung* stated that the Geneva trade societies had advanced 1,000 fr. to the spinners at Elboeuf** to be reimbursed by levies. At Geneva the slaters of a shop had been threatened with a reduction of wages, but the support of the International had averted the strike. He further stated that the French papers had taken up the cause of the miners against the employers and the government.[218] According to the latest reports, there were 24 killed and 36 wounded. Some of the government employees had escaped being shot by hiding themselves, many people had been shot while flying. The work-people had rather protected the government officials than tried to injure them.

Cit. *Marx* announced that a Dutch Labour Congress had

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 12-14 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See p. 167 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

been held on the 19th at Arnhem where 800 delegates had attended. The principal trades represented were Cabinet-Makers, Compositors, Carpenters, Painters, Smiths, Masons, Bricklayers. They had established a National Labour Union and adhered to the International.[219] He also announced the receipt of a letter from the President of the International Bookbinders' Society at Leipzig, who desired to be brought in communication with the bookbinders here.

Citizens Jung and Lessner were appointed to wait on the Executive of the Day-Working Bookbinders' Society.

Cit. Thomas Mottershead was unanimously elected to become a member of the Council.

The following were nominated: John Johnson—by Citizens *Harris* and *Townshend*, and William Hales—by *Eccarius* and *John Hales*.

Cit. *Weston* suggested that it was desirable the Council should pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Merriman for the speech he made on the Sunday previous in Hyde Park. He thought there was much in the speech that the Council could agree with, and endorsing it by a vote of thanks might have some weight with the government. The Council had once before expressed sympathy with Ireland.[220]

Cit. *Jung* thought, before anything could be done, the Council ought to be made acquainted with the speech. He would prefer a resolution in favour of the release of the prisoners.

Cit. *Harris* objected to a vote of thanks but was in favour of a resolution.

The *Chairman* thought it was an opportune moment to do something.

Cit. *Marx* said the principal thing was whatever was passed would be suppressed by the London press. The main feature of the demonstration had been ignored, it was that at least a part of the English working class had lost their prejudice against the Irish. This might be put

in writing and addressed to somebody, not the government. He thought it a good opportunity to do something.

Cit. *Hales* was opposed to a vote of thanks. Merriman had resigned his post at the Reform League when the Council had passed a vote in favour of Fenianism. He proposed that a resolution be drawn up asking for the release of the political prisoners and stating the opinion of the Council on the question, and that Citizens Marx, Lucraft, Jung and Eccarius be a sub-committee to draw up the same.[221] Cit. Hales wished the resolution to express that the Irish would not be satisfied with anything short of self-government.

Cit. *Maurice* wanted to know whether it was to be addressed to the government or to the trade societies.

Cit. *Milner* said we must have equal justice for Ireland; Ireland must be treated the same as England.

Cit. *Weston* thought if it was addressed to government a simple acknowledgment of the receipt would be enough to get it into the papers. We ought to advise the government in a dignified way. It was necessary to praise a man for doing right but we might [give] him our opinion about it.

Cit. *Jung* was in favour of Cit. Weston's remarks. England had always represented the struggle as one of race, last Sunday had shown that it was a struggle of classes.

The *Chairman** was against addressing the government: they only acted under pressure. We must compel the government to do something. He as an Englishman did not believe he had done his duty. It was our business to show the Irish that it was only a class of the English that wronged them and that the same class of Irish were as bad.

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* Lucraft.—*Ed.*

The proposition was unanimously adopted and it was agreed that the people and not the government should be addressed.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

Chairman*

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

November 2

Members present: *Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Mottershead, Odger, Townshend.*

Cit. *Odger* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. *Bockett*, the Secretary of the Day-Working Bookbinders' Society, handed in £2 voted by his society towards the expense of the Congress.

Cit. *Marx* called attention to the long absence of the Belgian Secretary.***

Citizens Jung and Dupont were requested to have an interview with him to ascertain the reason of his absence and to get the documents in his possession in case of not being willing to resume his place.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from the Secretary of the French branch of New York enclosing some money for the Council. The branch publishes a bulletin. The letter stated all the New York papers had spoken about the Congress; it appeared to have been weaker than former ones and Tolain very

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 14-15 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Bernard.—*Ed.*

illogical. Things were bad or else more money would have been sent.

Cit. *Jung* announced that the Swiss Trade Federation now contained 47 societies.[222] The carpenters of one Geneva shop were on strike against overtime and piecework. The *bijoutiers* were endeavouring to establish a union for the female polishers and chain-makers.[223]

He further announced that the French Government furnished charity girls to take the places of the linen drapers' assistants who were on strike against Sunday work.

Cit. *Jung* inquired if the League of which J. Johnson was secretary had any connection with the leaders of the so-called French International.*

Citizens *Harris* and *Boon* gave explanations showing that it had not.

Cit. *Marx* inquired if any steps had been taken respecting the establishment of a British section of the International.**

Cit. *Hales* understood that it had been postponed. On the previous Wednesday the Land and Labour League[224] had been established, many Council members were on the Executive of that League; it was not necessary to go any farther at present.

The Secretary was instructed to reply to the last letters received from the Labour Union and New York State Union of America.

He was further instructed to write to the Hatters and the United Brass-Finishers asking them to receive deputations with a view to join the Association.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

Chairman *J. COHN*
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* The French branch in London.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 164, 166, 168-69, 170 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

November 9

Members present: *Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Maurice, Milner, Parnell, Townshend.*

Cit. *Cohn* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read an address from the New Democracy of New York,[225] and was instructed to bring up a reply to it on that day fortnight.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the work-people of Lyons had congratulated Raspail on separating himself from the middle-class opposition.[226] He further stated that in Switzerland the organisation of the working people and the propaganda for the Association proceeded with more zeal than ever before. The chemists' assistants of Paris were organising a society. The telegraph employees had appealed to the postmen to unite with them. Two thousand gilders had agreed not to work longer than 10 hours a day under any circumstances.

A statement in the *Egalité* gave rise to a conversation about the necessity to publish periodical reports.

Cit. *Jung* undertook to write to Geneva to inform the editor why reports were not published.[227]

The *Secretary* reported from the Sub-Committee that it had been agreed not to proceed with an address on the Irish question[228] because if the views of the Council were properly set forth, the government and the press would turn them against the prisoners.

Cit. *Jung* read a letter from Cit. Marx in support of the report and, if adopted, Cit. Marx proposed the discussion of the following questions: (1) The attitude of the

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 16-17 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*



Karl Marx's membership card of the Land and Labour League

British Government on the Irish question; (2) The attitude of the English working class towards the Irish. Cit. Marx volunteered to open the debate.

The report was adopted and the questions ordered to be put on the order of the day.[229]

Cit. *Hales* moved and *Lessner* seconded that anyone taking more than 50 Congress reports* should have them at the rate of £1 a 100, carriage free. Carried.

Cit. *Cohn* stated that a proposition was before his society to withdraw from the International because it did not stop foreigners from coming to London. There were some Belgian lodging-house keepers in the East of London who imported them in such numbers that it very seriously interfered with the trade. On their first arrival they worked for anything that was offered them. He wished to know whether the Antwerp cigar-makers belonged to the International, what their numbers were both at Antwerp and at Brussels and what funds they had.

Cit. *Jung* would endeavour to get the information.

Cit. William Hales, formerly a member of the Council and lately returned to town, was readmitted.

The election of J. Johnson was postponed.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

November 16

Members present: *Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Mottershead, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*[230]

* See p. 163 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 17-22 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read letters acknowledging the receipt of Congress reports. Also a letter from the Secretary of the Dundee Working Men's Association applying for particulars to form a branch, which had already been forwarded.

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from De Paepe of Bruxelles inquiring what had become of the Belgian Secretary, whether he had forwarded all the money collected; they had only received 200 fr.; and demanding the appointment of a new one.[231]

Cit. *Marx* proposed that Bernard be no longer secretary.

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had undertaken a commission with Dupont to see him, but had not yet met him and did not know whether Dupont had.

It was agreed that Citizens Jung and Dupont be empowered to inquire also about the money.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the factory lords of Rouen had appealed to the work-people to join them in a protest against the continuance of the treaty of commerce with England.[232] The work-people had categorically refused. The Dutch branches had announced in their organ, the *Volksblad,* that the reorganisation of society required a double struggle, social and political. An article in the *Egalité* suggested the propriety of establishing an English Council to relieve the General Council of some of its work.[233] At Elboeuf only 150 spinners remained on strike, at Darnétal 400. The Paris gilders' strike continued. Those who had returned to work at an advance gave it for the support of the strike. The Naples section published a paper under the name of *Egalité.**[234]

Cit. *Marx* then opened the debate on the attitude of the British Government on the Irish question.** He said

* *L'Eguaglianza.—Ed.*

** See pp. 176-77 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

political amnesty proceeds from two sources: 1. When a government is strong enough by force of arms and public opinion, when the enemy accepts the defeat, as was the case in America, then amnesty is given. 2. When misgovernment is the cause of quarrel and the opposition gains its point, as was the case in Austria and Hungary. Such ought to have been the case in Ireland.

Both Disraeli and Gladstone have said that the government ought to do for Ireland what in other countries a revolution would do. Bright asserted repeatedly that Ireland would always be rife for revolution unless a radical change was made. During the election Gladstone justified the Fenian insurrection and said that every other nation would have revolted under similar circumstances.[235] When taunted in the House he equivocated his fiery declarations against the "policy of conquest" implied that "Ireland ought to be ruled according to Irish ideas". To put an end to the "policy of conquest" he ought to have begun like America and Austria by an amnesty as soon as he became minister. He did nothing. Then the amnesty movement in Ireland by the municipalities.[236] When a deputation was about to start with a petition containing 200,000 signatures for the release of the prisoners he anticipated it by releasing some to prevent the appearance of giving way to Irish pressure. The petition came, it was not got up by Fenians, but he gave no answer. Then it was mooted in the House that the prisoners were infamously treated. In this at least the English Government is impartial; it treats Irish and English alike; there is no country in Europe where political prisoners are treated like in England and Russia. Bruce was obliged to admit the fact. Moor wanted an inquiry; it was refused. Then commenced the popular amnesty movement at Limerick. A meeting was held at which 30,000 people were present and a memorial for the unconditional release was adopted. Meetings were held in all the towns in the North. Then

the great meeting was announced in Dublin where 200,000 people attended. It was announced weeks beforehand for the 10th October. The trade societies wanted to go in procession. On the 8th proclamations were issued prohibiting the procession to go through certain streets. Isaac Butt interpreted it as a prohibition of the procession. They went to Fortescue to ask but he was not at home, his Secretary Burke did not know. A letter was left to be replied to; he equivocated. The government wanted a collision. The procession was abandoned and it was found afterwards that the soldiers had been supplied with 40 rounds of shot for the occasion.

After that Gladstone answered the Limerick memorial of August in a roundabout way.[237] He says the proceedings varied much. There were loyal people and others who used bad language demanding as a right what could only be an act of clemency.

It is an act of presumption on the part of a paid public servant to teach a public meeting how to speak.

The next objection is that the prisoners have not abandoned their designs which were cut short by their imprisonment.

How does Gladstone know what their designs were and that they still entertain them? Has he tortured them into a confession? He wants them to renounce their principles, to degrade them morally. Napoleon did [not] ask people to renounce their republican principles before he gave an amnesty and Prussia attached no such conditions.

Then he says the conspiracy still exists in England and America.

If it did, Scotland Yard would soon be down upon it. It is only "disaffection of 700 years' standing". The Irish have declared they would receive unconditional freedom as an act of conciliation. Gladstone cannot quell the Fenian conspiracy in America, his conduct promotes it, one paper calls him the Head Centre.[238] He finds fault with the press.

He has not the courage to prosecute the press; he wants to make the prisoners responsible. Does he want to keep them as hostages for the good behaviour of the people outside? He says "it has been our desire to carry leniency to the utmost point". This then is the utmost point.

When Mountjoy was crowded with untried prisoners, Dr. M'Donnell wrote letter after letter to Joseph Murray about their treatment. Lord Mayo said afterwards that Murray had suppressed them. M'Donnell then wrote to the inspector of prisons, to a higher official. He was afterwards dismissed and Murray was promoted.

He then says: we have advised the minor offenders to be released; the principal leaders and organisers we could not set free.

This is a positive lie. There were two Americans amongst them who had 15 years each. It was fear for America that made him set them free. Carey was sentenced in 1865 to 5 years, he is in the lunatic asylum, his family wanted him home, he could not upset the government.

He further says: to rise in revolt against the public order has ever been a crime in this country. Only in this country. Jefferson Davis's revolt was right because it was not against the English, the government.[239] He continues, the administration can have no interest except the punishment of crimes.

The administration are the servants of the oppressors of Ireland. He wants the Irish to fall on their knees because an enlightened sovereign and parliament have done a great act of justice. They were the criminals before the Irish people. But the Irish was the only question upon which Gladstone and Bright could become ministers and catch the dissenters and give the Irish place-hunters an excuse of selling themselves. The church was only the badge of conquest. The badge is removed, but the servitude remains. He states that the government is resolved to continue to

remove any grievance, but that they are determined to give security to life and property and maintain the integrity of the empire.

Life and property are endangered by the English aristocracy. Canada makes her own laws without impairing the integrity of the empire, but the Irish know nothing of their own affairs, they must leave them to Parliament, the same power that has landed them where they are. It is the greatest stupidity to think that the prisoners out of prison could be more dangerous than insulting a whole nation. The old English leaven of the conqueror comes out in the statement: we will grant but you must ask.

In his letter to Isaac Butt he says:

> "You remind me that I once pleaded for foreigners. Can the two cases correspond? The Fenians were tried according to lawful custom and found guilty by a jury of their countrymen. The prisoners of Naples were arrested and not tried and when they were tried they were tried by exceptional tribunals and sentenced by judges who depended upon the government for bread."[240]

If a poacher is tried by a jury of country squires he is tried by his countrymen. It is notorious that the Irish juries are made up of purveyors to the castle whose bread depends upon their verdict. Oppression is always a lawful custom. In England the judges can be independent, in Ireland they cannot. Their promotion depends upon how they serve the government. Sullivan the prosecutor has been made master of the rolls.

To the Ancient Order of Foresters in Dublin he answered that he was not aware that he had given a pledge that Ireland was to be governed according to Irish ideas.[241] And after all this he comes to Guild-Hall and complains that he is inadequate for the task.

The upshot is that all the tenant right meetings are broken up; they want the prisoners [released]. They have broken with the clerical party. They now demand that

Ireland is to govern herself. Moor and Butt have declared for it.* They have resolved to liberate O'Donovan Rossa by electing him a member of Parliament.[242]

Cit. Marx ended by proposing the following resolution:

Resolved,

That in his reply to the Irish demands for the release of the imprisoned Irish patriots (in a reply contained in his letter to Mr. O'Shea d.d. Oct. 18, 1869, and to Mr. Isaac Butt d.d. Oct. 23, 1869) Mr. Gladstone has deliberately insulted the Irish nation;

That he clogs political amnesty with conditions alike degrading to the victims of misgovernment and the people they belong to;

That having in the teeth of his responsible position publicly and enthusiastically cheered on the American slave-holders' rebellion, he now steps in to preach to the Irish people the doctrine of passive obedience;

That his whole proceedings with reference to the Irish amnesty question are the true and genuine offspring of that "*policy of conquest*" by the fiery denunciation of which Mr. Gladstone ousted his Tory rivals from office;

That the General Council of the International Working Men's Association express their admiration of the spirited and high-souled manner in which the Irish people carry on their amnesty movement;

That this resolution be communicated to all the branches of, and working men's bodies connected with, the International Working Men's Association in Europe and the United States.[243]

Cit. *Harris* seconded the resolution.

The *Chairman* thought the discussion had better be postponed till the next week.

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* This sentence was inserted between the lines of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Milner* was exceedingly pleased and should like the resolution so amplified as to bring people who had not heard the discussion to understand all.

The debate was then adjourned.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

*November 26***

Members present: *Applegarth, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Mottershead, Odger, Stepney, Townshend.*

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from the Secretary of the Hatters' Society announcing that a deputation would be received on Friday evening.

Citizens Jung and Applegarth were appointed to attend.

A letter was read from John Smith of Whitechurch, Dorset, approving of the nationalisation of the land, of Odger trying to get in for Southwark[244] and suggesting that if an opening should occur, Lucraft and Applegarth ought [to] be put forward.

Cit. *Jung* read a letter from St. Etienne announcing the establishment of a section consisting of 30 members, organised by Richard of Lyons through whom the contributions were to be forwarded.

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had received a letter from Hanover where the engineers had been on strike for six

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 23-28 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** An error. The meeting took place on Tuesday, November 23, 1869.—*Ed.*

weeks against an increase of the working day and a reduction of wages. The masters belonged to a labour protection society to guard the work-people against unionism and the International.[245]

An opinion was expressed that under existing circumstances there was no chance of getting any money.

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had seen the bookbinders and that he had received some of their documents for the Leipzig Association.* They considered their affiliation to the International as equivalent to a federation with kindred societies affiliated on the Continent.

He further stated that he had missed Bernard** but had now appointed a rendezvous with him by leaving a note at his house.

The debate on the attitude of the British Government on the Irish question was then resumed.

Cit. *Milner* said when he had spoken about amplifying the resolution he had not expected that such a report would be published of the discussion as in *Reynolds's*[246] but that was enough.

The resolution was then read from the chair.***

Cit. *Odger* said it was necessary that no application should be made to a government in the form of a demand. In the bills calling the Hyde Park meeting[247] a demand was made for the unconditional release. I am as much in favour of their release as any one, but it is impolitic to proceed in that way, it prejudices the case. If this Council had done anything and was called upon to reverse, it would treat the demand with contempt. Gladstone came boldly forward with the Church Bill; that is a matter of history now and I hope his Land Bill will be as good as his Church Bill.[248]

Cit. *Jung*. Our purpose is not to release the prisoners,

* See p. 172 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 174, 178 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
*** See p. 183 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

but to express our opinion on the conduct of the government. The first meetings did not make a demand, but the minister did not deign to answer their application. The Hyde Park meeting for parliamentary reform was a demand, Gladstone was not against that. Everything in this country is carried by pressure from without. When the Russell ministry brought in their little bill they courted pressure. Gladstone and Bright have used strong language. Their election speeches have taught one what Ireland is. We are not going to petition, they have behaved badly.

Cit. *Applegarth.* Odger simply raises the question whether it is right to use strong language. If we had gone on our knees in the Hyde Park affair we would never have got there. We must consider under what circumstances the men were arrested and why they are kept. They have been too long in prison. It is no use to apply soft language, the time has come to demand.

Cit. *Mottershead.* I believe all that Applegarth has said and go even farther. I admit the right of insurrection. But the government cannot do what they like, only what the country allows. I regret that Englishmen applauded the statements of Dr. Marx, as some did last week. Ireland cannot be independent. It lies between England and France; if we relinquish our hold, it would only be asking the French to walk in. The Irish movement is not of that high-souled character the Doctor* ascribes to it in the resolution. One thing is wrong altogether: if you look to the *Times* and other papers you will find that the Prime Minister commenced the amnesty affair before the Irish moved. Dr. Marx makes it appear that it was a sort of cowardice, fear of America to release the Americans** and then he states that America has not been conciliated.

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* Marx.—*Ed.*

** See p. 181 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

I never found the Irish in the field with the English in any movement, but they have often been against us. I remind you of the Garibaldi riots.[249] I am surprised that Napoleon is held up against Gladstone. Dr. Marx forgot that thousands of the French and Hungarians were amnestied by death in the streets of Paris and at Cayenne. The Austrian Government had 14 Hungarian generals hung one morning. Robert Blum was shot.

Mr. Gladstone might have played quite a different part if he had chosen. He had sprung from the worst aristocracy in existence, the slave-dealers of Liverpool. He became the favourite of Oxford and might have been the favourite of the aristocracy. His pamphlet on Naples dropped like bomb-shell into the Conservative camp.[250] The Naples prisoners were ministers today and in prison tomorrow; surely the Doctor is not going to compare them with people who came from abroad to create disturbance here? When he got into government he repealed the legacy duty and replaced [it] by the succession tax, a tax on land which he acknowledged to be public property. In 1859 he was one of that masterly inactivity which saved Italy. It is true, Italy is not yet a republic, but nationality first and freedom after. In 1860 he brought about the commercial treaty with France which tends to create brotherly love and break down national barriers.[251] In the American war it is laid down that he cheered on the rebellion. He said nothing in the House for the South and nothing against the North, only at Newcastle in 1863 he said that Jefferson Davis had created a nation; [he said it] at a time when no one had any idea that the South was as hollow as it afterwards proved to be, and he has since recanted. It has since oozed out that he has always been on the Right side in his votes in the cabinet. On the Schleswig-Holstein affair[252] he prevented us rushing into war and thereby advanced German unity. With regard to the

amnesty affair I wish the prisoners free, but I cannot vote for the resolution as it stands.

Cit. *Milner* said Cit. Mottershead has dwelled upon the personal excellence of Gladstone; he is an excellent man, but here we have to deal with him as representing the English policy against the Irish. We must insist that every particular part of the Empire ought to have the same liberty as other parts, we must deal equal justice to all. If Ireland was properly treated, she would be the right arm of the government. Gladstone may not be able to do differently, he acts in deference to a part of the House to keep his position, and it is upon his doings as they are in that position that we have to express an opinion.

Cit. *Eccarius* said to the Austrian and Italian governments Garibaldi had been the same as a Fenian to the English Government, and he had also come from abroad with arms in his hands. But the English public looked upon the one as a great patriot while they treated the other as a criminal. Gladstone had only raised his voice for the Neapolitan prisoners because they had been swells, if they had been working men he would not have cared about them.

Cit. *Odger* objected that Eccarius had not dealt fairly with the case. We owed a certain amount of liberty to Garibaldi. He had nothing to say against the Fenians, he got a disgrace for taking their part. His present point was the resolution took too wholesale a denunciation of Gladstone's policy. To release the prisoners was different from a declaration for an agitation.

Cit. *Mottershead* stated the Irish had thrown stones at the English for being in favour of Garibaldi.

The *Chairman** said whatever the Irish are the English have made them. If we gave them the same liberties as we have they would be contented, there would be no danger of running away. Cit. Mottershead missed the point of the

* John Hales.—*Ed.*

resolution. Gladstone in his election speeches declared that the Irish were wrongly governed; he therefore virtually justified the Fenians. When he got in he did nothing but he insulted the Irish. He rules by officialism. No other country has made treason felony and this [Fenianism] has been done to punish, to put it on a level with ordinary crime.

Cit. *Jung* said Mottershead took a very narrow national point of view. In Paris thousands had been shot to death, in Ireland hundreds of thousands had been starved to death. It is admitted that things are wrong but they are to be remedied according to English views, not according to Irish; the English will not do for the Irish what Garibaldi wanted for the Italians. Cit. Odger says we owe a certain amount of liberty to Garibaldi, we owe much more to the Fenians. The Clerkenwell affair[253] was certainly a shocking affair, but Garibaldi has caused much bloodshed and would have caused more if the blowing up of the barracks at Rome had not been prevented. The police were as much to blame in the Clerkenwell affair as anyone.

Cit. *Odger*. I have been misunderstood. I only said that an act like that necessitates that those who want the prisoners released should take it into consideration.

Cit. *Marx*. Cit. Mottershead has given a history of Gladstone. I could give another, but that has nothing to do with the question before us. The petitions which were adopted at the meetings were quite civil, but he found fault with the speeches by which they were supported. Castlereagh was as good a man as Gladstone and I found today in the *Political Register*[254] that he used the same words against the Irish as Gladstone, and Cobbett made the same reply as I have done.

When the electoral tour commenced all the Irish candidates spouted about amnesty, but Gladstone did nothing till the Irish municipalities moved.

I have not spoken of the people killed abroad, because

you cannot compare the Hungarian war with the Fenian insurrection. We might compare it with 1798[255] and then the comparison would not be favourable to the English.

I repeat that political prisoners are not treated anywhere so bad as in England.

Cit. Mottershead is not going to tell us his opinion of the Irish; if he wants to know what other people think of the English let him read Ledru-Rollin[256] and other Continental writers. I have always defended the English and do so still.

These resolutions are not to be passed to release the prisoners, the Irish themselves have abandoned that.

It is a resolution of sympathy with the Irish and a review of the conduct of the government, it may bring the English and the Irish together. Gladstone has to contend with the opposition of the *Times*, the *Saturday Review*, etc., if we speak out boldly; on the other side, we may support him against an opposition to which he might otherwise have to succumb. He was in office during the Civil War and was responsible for what the government did and if the North was low when he made his declaration, so much the worse for his patriotism.

Cit. Odger is right, if we wanted the prisoners released, this would not be the way to do it, but it is more important to make a concession to the Irish people than to Gladstone.[257]

Cit. *Odger* would prefer a unanimous vote if that could be obtained by a different wording of the resolution without destroying the meaning.

Cit. *Marx* had no objection to leave out the word "deliberately", as a prime minister must necessarily be considered to do everything deliberately.[258]

Cit. *Harris* objected.

The Council adjourned at a quarter past 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

November 30[259]

Members present: *Applegarth, Eccarius, Jung, Harris, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Odger, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Jung* read a letter from Malon of Paris announcing the foundation of an agricultural labourers' branch at Pontoise, near Paris, consisting at present of 25 members; that he had received good news from Roubaix; that a few of the United Workmen had established a branch at Batignolles and that they numbered nearly 500 members at Paris. They were going to draw up a social reform programme. The present political situation he considered analogous to that in the beginning of June 1848 and November 1851. The bourgeois liberals, he stated, were so afraid of political liberty that before long they would implore the saviour of society** to save them once more.

Cit. *Jung* read another letter from Bastelica of Marseilles who announced that it was contemplated to federalise 30 trade societies and that the first *considerant**** of the International should head the Rules.[260] They had sent £40 to Rouen for the men on strike. The Marseilles papers had been forced by public opinion to engage reporters to report working men's meetings. The professor he had recommended the other day worked well. He [is] disgusted with politics and complains that the work-people always ask for help when they are on strike, but when an elec-

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 28-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Napoleon III.—*Ed.*

*** Clause.—*Ed.*

tion comes they vote for the little citizen kings who are as good socialists as the Bonapartes [are] democrats. Thinks it possible for the next Congress to meet at Paris, and considers it necessary that the Association ought to be prepared with something practical if a revolution breaks out.

Cit. *Marx* stated that a congress of political economists had discussed the labour question and a certain Emérique had recommended the way in which the Belgian Government had acted at Seraing and other places to keep the pretensions of the work-people in check.

Cit. Marx further stated that a member of the Association, Grosselin, a working man, had been elected into the Council of the Canton of Geneva.

Cit. Marx gave notice that he should call the attention of the Council to the conduct of the *Bee-Hive* respecting the reports of the proceedings of the Council.[261]

Citizens *Applegarth* and *Jung* reported the result of their attendance on the Committee of the Hatters' Society who had expressed their satisfaction with the proceedings of the International and that they [had] no doubt their society would join.

Citizens Lessner and Milner were appointed to wait upon the Tottenham Court Road branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners who asked for a deputation with a view to join.

The §1 of the resolution on the British Government in the Irish amnesty affair was then read.*

Cit. *Odger* stated that he had left the paper in which the resolution was printed and had therefore not been able to see what alterations he might consider desirable.

Cit. *Marx* had consented to withdraw the word "deliberately". The § was unanimously adopted with that omission.

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* See p. 183 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The §2 Cit. *Odger* thought to be altered so as not to throw the whole blame on Gladstone. He was not quite free, but he was better than anyone that had ruled before him. The matter ought to be well considered; he should not like the prestige of the Council lost through a condemnatory resolution. Much of his conduct was due to the old parties from whom he had not yet been able to free himself and Citizen Odger wished that to be stated in the resolution.

Cit. *Milner* stated the question had been well considered and Gladstone could not be treated differently to any other government.

Cit. *Weston* said Gladstone's letter implied that the Irish had been wrong while the contrary was the case. Gladstone has never opened his mouth against the execution at Manchester[262]; if Jefferson Davis had been hanged, he would not have taken it quiet. Then he had refused a proposition to place all parties on an equal footing for compensation in the Church affair because it would have extended the compensation to the work-people. He was no better than the Czar, and the International could make no difference between him and others. The Irish would have accepted full amnesty as pledge of sincerity. His policy had not touched the Irish people, it had only stirred them up to anger. He heartily supported the resolution.

Cit. *Marx* said if Odger's suggestions were followed the Council would put themselves on an English party standpoint. They could not do that. The Council must show the Irish that they understood the question and the Continent that they showed no favour to the British Government. The Council must treat the Irish like the English would treat the Polish.

Cit. *Lucraft* said Gladstone and Bright had only denounced [the Tories] to step into their shoes. If they [had] thrown themselves upon the people they would have been backed against the old parties. If they had remained

out of office the prisoners would have been released by this time. No reforms were of any use, the Irish must have Ireland to themselves.

The § was carried unanimously.

On the §3 having been read, Cit. *Odger* made some observation to which Cit. *Marx* replied. It was carried.

The remaining §§s were carried without discussion[263] and the Secretary was instructed to get them printed and circulate them.[264]

The Council adjourned [at] a quarter past 11 o'clock.

FRID LESSNER, Chairman
JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

December 7

Members present: *Boon, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Weston.*[265]

Cit. *Lessner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a list of addresses to which he had despatched the Irish resolutions.

Cit. *Jung* handed in the letters from the late Belgian Secretary** who had promised to return the subscription sheets at the end of the week.

He further stated that there was some estrangement between the old members of the International and the new of Lyons.***

Cit. *Jung* had seen Shaw who was too ill to attend.

Upon the statement of the Secretary Cit. *Lucraft* pro-

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*
** Bernard.—*Ed.*
*** See pp. 215-16 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

posed and Cit. *Jung* seconded that booksellers be allowed the percentages of the trade to sell Congress reports at 3d. each.

The Council adjourned at 10 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

December 14

Members present: *Eccarius, Hales John, Hales William, Harris, Jung,*** Lucraft, Marx, Stepney.*

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Curriers' Society complaining about the Irish resolutions was read.[266]

Cit. *Jung* read some strictures on the conduct of the Council from the *Egalité*, respecting the Irish resolutions and finding fault that the resolutions of the congresses were not carried out; further that it was the duty of the General Council to inform the Association which of the two, Liebknecht or Schweitzer, in Germany were right.[267]

Cit. *Marx* observed that the paper as such had no right to put such questions. If the Geneva section required any information or had any complaints to make, the secretary of the section must apply to the Council. He further observed that Liebknecht belonged to the Association but Schweitzer did not. Liebknecht had offered to make the Council umpire*** to decide between him and Schweitzer, but the latter had refused.[268]

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 32-33 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further the name "Lessner" is crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The word "umpire" was inserted later.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Jung* stated that the Geneva section did not employ the *Egalité* as its medium of communication with the Council, the article must therefore be taken only as emanating from the writer of it.

Cit. *Eccarius* stated that the resolution of the Congress to which the complaint of the *Egalité* had reference contained provisions that the General Secretary was to receive £2 a week and every section should forward a monthly report, which reports should form the base of the General Reports,[269] but neither of these conditions had as yet been fulfilled. He moved that the Council should pass to the order of the day, which was agreed to.

Cit. *Jung* stated that Bernard had not regulated his affairs.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the Council at its rising should adjourn to January 4th. He said it would not be advisable to discuss the Irish during the holiday weeks when the attendance of members might be small. He considered the solution of the Irish question as the solution of the English, and the English as the solution of the European.[270]

The proposition was agreed to and the Standing Committee authorised to transact any necessary business in the meantime.

The Council then adjourned.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

1870

*COUNCIL MEETING**

January 4

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Stepney.*

Cit. *John Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from the New Democracy[271] and was authorised to comply with the request of sending a *Bee-Hive* as a sample.

Another letter from Robert Hume of Long Island commenting on the division between the English and the Irish working men.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx*, seconded by *Jung*, Robert Hume was unanimously appointed correspondent of the Association and the Secretary was instructed to reply to his letter and to inform him of the appointment requesting him to write to the Council on the state of America as often he should deem it advisable.

A letter was read from Isaac Butt of Dublin who offered his assistance to bring about a union between the English and the Irish workmen; the Secretary was instructed to reply.

In answer to an application from the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany for loans for the

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 33-35 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

miners of Waldenburg, now on strike,[272] the German Secretary* was instructed to reply that it was impossible at present to do anything, and a general instruction was given to the secretaries to state in their correspondence that there was no prospect [of] obtaining pecuniary aid in London under existing circumstances.

3,000 cards requested by the German Social-Democratic Committee were ordered to be forwarded.

Cit. *Jung* announced that a new paper** had been started by the members of the International of Zurich. Amongst the points of their programme were separation of Church and State, separation of the schools from the Church, gratuitous education in the higher branches of learning, gratuitous care of the sick, nationalisation of railways, prohibition of children under 12 working in factories, and that from 12 to 16 their hours of labour should be limited to 8 a day and those of adults to 10 and that the factories should be under the supervision of government inspectors. The *Progrès* of Locle and the *Egalité* of Geneva were against the programme as being too political; they were against politics.[273]

Cit. *Marx* observed that the reduction of the hours of labour had been resolved by two congresses*** and it could only be carried out by compelling the existing governments to take it in hand. The *Progrès* and *Egalité* had no right to complain.

Cit. *Jung* further stated that the bookbinders of Zurich were on strike and the masons of Palma in Spain had joined the International.

Cit. *Marx* announced that the Sub-Committee had replied to the charges of *Egalité*.****

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* Marx.—*Ed.*
** *Tagwacht*.—*Ed.*
*** See pp. 286 and 296 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
**** See pp. 354-63 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

On the part of the Sub-Committee he proposed Serraillier as Secretary for Belgium. The proposition was carried.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Lessner* seconded Charles Pfänder, and *W. Hales* proposed and *Jung* seconded Fr. Bradnick.

Cit. *Jung* then rose and said: I have rather a sad duty to perform: it is to announce the death of one of our members, Robert Shaw. He was one of the most honest workers in our cause that ever lived. During the time of the reform movement,[274] when almost all our English neglected the Council meetings more or less, he was always at his post. On Wednesday I received a letter from his daughter stating that her father was getting worse. Marx and I went to visit him on Thursday. He was sensible and collected and spoke like one who does not expect to live much longer; he was fully prepared. On Monday I received a letter that he was dead, he died on Friday, 15 hours after we saw him. He is to be buried on Wednesday at two o'clock. I think the Council ought to be represented at the funeral.

Cit. *Marx* said if Jung would go he was willing to accompany him; *Hales* and *Dupont* likewise expressed their willingness.

Cit. *Cohn* proposed that a deputation be appointed to represent the Council officially and that Citizens Dupont, Hales J., Jung and Marx form the deputation. Carried.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and *Cohn* seconded that the General Secretary be directed to write a letter of condolence to Mrs. Shaw and family. Carried.

Cit. *Cohn* further proposed that the news of Shaw's death be communicated to the correspondents abroad. Carried.[275]

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Marx* the discussion of the Irish question was adjourned.*

Cit. *Eccarius* announced that the Tottenham Court Road branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners had resolved to join.

Cit. *W. Hales* stated that at the annual meeting of the Elastic Web-Weavers at Coventry the London delegates had brought on a motion to affiliate the whole amalgamation. The resolution had been passed subject to the ratification of the branches. There were five branches and three were known to be in favour, a few weeks would settle it.

Cit. *Marx* announced that Col. Burke had succumbed at last, he was dead. The English papers kept silent about him; the Irish papers stated that he had been surfeited with mercury.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

January 11

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales John, Hales William, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Zabicki, Harris.*

Cit. *John Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from Trieste applying for Rules and other documents for the information of the working men's association of that town.

* See pp. 176-77, 178-84, 185-90, 192-93, 196 of the present volume. —*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 35-36 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Secretary was instructed to reply and forward documents.

A letter from Hoboken, New York, announced the affiliation of the German Labour Union of that place, enclosing $2 as contribution.[276] The affiliation was ratified.

A letter from Neuville-sur-Saône renewed the application of the cotton printers on strike for assistance.

The Secretary was instructed to put himself in communication with the Manchester correspondent respecting the strike.*

Cit. Bastelica of Marseilles wrote that he had opened a subscription for Cit. Odger,[277] and mentioned several places where affiliations were in prospect.

Cit. Johne from the Surgical Instrument-Makers of Paris applied for advice to obtain aid for those on strike.

The Council agreed to assist by applying to the kindred trades at Sheffield.

A letter from the Geneva Committee stated that the section did not approve of the proceedings of the *Egalité*. The Council had judged rightly when it had rejected the propositions of the Alliance Démocratique. The Alliance did not form part of the Geneva section, it acted by itself. Seven members of the Editorial Committee[278] had resigned and the resignation accepted.

Cit. *Cohn* stated that the proposition of the Cigar-Makers withdrawing from the International had been fully discussed and rejected by an immense majority.

Cit. *Weston* gave notice of a motion to discuss the question of Free Trade and its effects.

The Secretary was authorised to procure 1,000 sheets of note-paper with printed headings.[279]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

G. E. HARRIS

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Sec.

* See pp. 205, 206 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

January 18

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Mottershead, Weston, Zabicki.*

Cit. *Harris* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from J. W. Gregory of New York inviting Englishmen to become colonists in Florida.

The Secretary was authorised to publish the letter.[280]

A letter was reported from A. Goegg at Geneva respecting the payment of contributions[281]; the Swiss Secretary** was instructed to inquire of Ph. Becker whether Goegg's statement was correct.

Cit. Carl Pfänder and Fred. Bradnick were elected as members of the Council and Cit. Schmutz was admitted as delegate of the Helvetia.

Cit. *Jung* stated that Marx was too ill to attend, that Serraillier has illness in the house and that Boon was lecturing somewhere.

The Naples section had sent £12 to Germany[282] and the jewellers of Pforzheim had £147 10s. for the miners of Waldenburg.

Cit. Spier of Wolfenbuttel had written him a very pressing letter about the miners' strike; the General Secretary was instructed to apply to the various miners' associations of this country.

Cit. *Weston* then opened the discussion of Free Trade and its effects. He said, as far as the controversy had been reopened it has all turned upon protection. We are all

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 37-39 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Jung.—*Ed.*

Free Traders in buying but Protectionists in what we make. The Free Trade orators used to make such glowing speeches, but if we compare them with the existing state of things we find that their expectations have not been realised. Bright in his speech at Birmingham stated that alongside of the educational question the commercial treaty with France had been feebly discussed, and that the time was passed for discussing that question; the Free Trade question had been discussed from 1840 to 1850.[283] My reply to that is that the length of the discussion is no guarantee that the truth has been arrived at. He further stated that many people of the present day were not aware how completely the Free Trade question had been settled twenty years ago. Many questions [which] have been considered completely settled became unsettled by the light of subsequent experience proving that their settlement rested upon erroneous conclusions. I would not like to stand up for protection but I should be afraid to defend Free Trade. Bright says knaves and fools talk about reciprocity because protection has a bad name. But why do non-producers desire Free Trade? If not in order to make a profit out of other people's labour? To bring things from abroad because they are cheaper than they can be made at home is only done because they yield a larger profit, it is filching. The Conservatives think they profit by protection, therefore they favour protection. If it rested with the producers and it was found that an article could not be produced at home such as tea and we exchanged it for something else, that would not be Free Trade. Suppose two counties, say Kent and Cornwall, had each produced all it required for its own use but that Kent had particular facilities for producing food and Cornwall for manufactures. There might be an advantage in exchanging products. But in both places the capitalists are owners of the materials and they buy what they require where it is cheapest. By buying their fabrics in Cornwall the Kent consumers throw part of

their producers out of work and throw more out of work than the increased demand in Cornwall will employ. The rich make a saving which they may employ partly in a reproductive way, partly in luxury. The rich will buy everything for less than they used to do, therefore the poor cannot get more nor as much as before. Free Trade then is a great benefit to the non-producers but none at all if not an injury to the producers. Richard Cobden wanted every man to be at full work and well paid, how is that possible if we buy everything at the cheapest rate where it can be had for the least. Free Trade is like pugilism; every manufacturer is on the other's throat to strangle him; it is fight in which many scramble for prizes that can only be won by a few.

Cit. *Hales J.* said: I have certain principles on my own mind but I want various views evolved in the discussion. I should like someone to move the adjournment to resume at our next meeting.

Cit. *Eccarius* moved the adjournment of the debate.

Cit. *Milner* avowed himself a Free Trader in the fullest sense of the word, until now the question had only been discussed in the sense of the Manchester school.[284]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

January 25[285]

Members present: *Bradnick, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Milner, Parnell, Rühl, Schmutz, Stepney, Weston.*

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 39-40 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *J. Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* announced the receipt of a letter from Manchester promising to bring the application of the stuff-printers of Neuville-sur-Saône under the notice of the proper parties.

Cit. *Jung* stated that Marx had received a letter from the Engineers of Hanover who wished to enter into connection with the English Engineers[286]; he proposed that a deputation should wait on the Council of the Engineers.

The proposition was carried and Jung, Applegarth, and Eccarius were appointed to form the deputation.

A letter from Marseilles announced that the federalised trades of that town had guaranteed a loan to the Polishers to the amount of 1,500 francs in bonds of one franc each.

A letter from Brussels announced the declaration of affiliation of a trade society of Rheims and asked the Council to send the deed of affiliation but not publicly.[287]

Cit. Dupont was instructed to respond.

Cit. *Dupont* [proposed] that any society in France* nominating a corresponding secretary to correspond with the General Council should be held as *de facto* affiliated. Carried.

Cit. *Jung* proposed that a letter should be sent to Italy to remind the members there that they had not yet fulfilled the conditions of membership. Carried.

Cit. *Lessner* had received a letter from Basle applying for reports of co-operative or benefit societies.

Cit. *Hales* thought he could supply some.

It was announced that Cit. Combault had formed a section of the International at Paris.[288]

Cit. *Eccarius* then resumed the discussion on the effects of Free Trade, which after a few remarks from Citizens

* The words "in France" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

Milner and *Jung* was again adjourned on the motion of Cit. *J. Hales.*

Cit. *Schmutz* announced that the Helvetia was going to hold a festival meeting on Friday, February 4th, to which the members of the Council were invited.

GEO E. HARRIS, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

February 1

Members present: *Bradnick, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Rühl, Stepney, Serraillier, Schmutz, Parnell.*

Cit. *Harris* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* announced the receipt of a letter from Manchester advising to write to the Cotton-Printers' Society at Salford respecting the strike of Neuville-sur-Saône.

Cit. *Jung* [stated] that Applegarth had not yet had time to arrange the deputation to the Engineers.**

He had received the report of the Secretary for Switzerland on the proceedings of the Congress.[289] Cit. Perret states that the collectivists have had the best on the land question and converted him. The Central Council for Switzerland had appointed a new staff for the management of the *Egalité.*[290]

Cit. *Serraillier* had received a letter from Brussels. The Belgian Council approved the answer of the General Council to the attacks in the *Egalité.*[291]

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 40-43 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See p. 205 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Cit. J. Hales being absent on account of illness Mr. *Milner* resumed the debate on the Effects of Free Trade. He said it is a question that everybody seems to know all about, but when it comes to a discussion nobody knows anything. I contend that we never have had Free Trade. If production was set entirely free we would naturally turn to exchange everything from where it is best. Can anything be more simple than every producer should produce and exchange with the utmost freedom. The Free Traders have gone a little way towards it but under existing circumstances it all turns against the workman. What we want to find out is how we can make machinery useful for the working classes; we have not done anything yet in that direction, we have not even yet a principle or an international price-list.* Before we can do anything we must know the value of labour and have complete freedom of exchange. At present we are hampered in every direction. The little producer cannot stand against the large one, we must enable the little one to have a fair chance. Until you have settled in your mind by what process this can be brought about you will not arrive at any practical result. I should like Cit. Jung's opinion on the special question of the watch trade; some say the English could produce as cheaply as the Swiss, if they liked, others maintain the contrary.

Cit. *Jung* said: I consider the English system wrong. The Swiss have made their watches to sell, the English have treated them like a scientific apparatus for keeping time and they stick to that system in the commonest kind. In Switzerland a great deal of machinery is used which even the largest manufacturers in this country will not purchase. In Switzerland the workmen get a great many watches of the same size and kind at a time which is

* The words "or an international price-list" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

never the case in this country. They carry on the same system as a hundred years ago and as long as that is persevered in they will not be able to compete with the Swiss. There are many clever workmen here but they can only do one particular thing; if they are required to do anything different they come to a deadlock. The English watchmaker earns comparatively less than the Swiss. The English watches used to be very unsightly things that nobody would wear for show; they have made great progress lately and the Swiss make progress in time keeping. About 95 out [of] every hundred watches worn in this country are Swiss. Those imported from France are made by Swiss who have settled there. But the Swiss cannot compete with the English in the high-priced watches. An English £20 watch cannot be equalled in Switzerland and cannot be made for the same price.

Cit. *Bradnick* said: I should like to say a few words respecting the ribbon trade. The English are in the same way as in the watch trade. Our goods were heavier and more durable, the French looked better and required less silk and the ladies preferred the French. The English had to label their goods French to sell them. Great improvements have been made but we are not yet up to the French, but the distance that separates us has been considerably shortened.

Cit. *W. Hales* said the French are far ahead in figured ribbons and in dyes. Free Trade has injured the English but not to the extent they pretended; it is more used as a lever to reduce wages. The workmen of St. Etienne complain the same as here; who is the injured party then? When the treaty came into operation there was enough stock in Coventry to last for years and as the manufacturers had made up their minds to be ruined it was thrown in the market at once. Besides, by the introduction of the steam-loom one man can do as much as four used to do with the handloom. Through the American war[292] the French mar-

kets were closed so that a double stock was thrown upon the English market.

Cit. *Harris* said he was in favour of reciprocity to exchange equal values of labour. The Manchester School leaves the labourer out of the question. The root of the evil was at work before Free Trade was introduced. We were told that 20 masters would look after one man; the emigration movement is the answer to that. Figures are delusive, exports and imports are no indication to the people's well-being. Pauperism and crime had increased since the establishment of Free Trade, the work-people are in a bad state everywhere. We must have nothing to do with either Free Traders or Protectionists.*

Chairman *J. COHN*
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

February 8[293]

Members present: *Dupont, Cohn, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Milner, Serraillier, Weston.*

Cit. *Cohn* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and with the rectification of an omission confirmed.

A letter from Geneva stated that the questions asked the other day in the *Egalité* had not proceeded from the section but only from the editors, and that the section had protested against the attack. The *Progrès* was not the paper of the section. The same congress[294] that had appointed the Federal Committee had also appointed the staff of

* The Minutes break off here, then follow three empty lines, and then the signatures.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 43-44 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the *Egalité* but this momentary abdication of the functions of the Federal Committee was now at an end; the Committee would manage the paper themselves. Robin and Perron had tried to kill the paper. The section had full confidence in the General Council, and was satisfied with the reasons given for not publishing a bulletin.* They wished to know if [the] Council was satisfied with their explanation; it was unanimously agreed that the explanation was satisfactory.

A letter from Paris was received containing an application for the affiliation of the Prolétaires Positivistes Society, which was ratified. It was further stated that many sections were being reorganised, that a new one was to be established at St. Denis and that as soon as they were in working order they would form a Central Committee to facilitate the correspondence. The police had not troubled them lately.

Credentials were asked for Johannard and Combault,** which were unanimously granted on the proposition of Cit. *Dupont,* seconded by Cit. *Jung.*

A letter from Amsterdam, accompanied by a draft of rules for the establishment of a Central Committee connected with the trade societies, was received, and the opinion of the Council asked upon the rules.

Cit. Jung and Serraillier were instructed to examine them.

Cit. *Cohn* made a statement respecting an intended strike by the cigar-makers of Belgium and the importation of Belgian workmen to work under shop price. The board of management had drawn up an address to the Belgians which they wished to communicate to the Council and have translated, but not gratuitously.

Cit. *Walker,* the Secretary of the Cigar-Makers' Asso-

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* See pp. 355-56 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The words "and Combault" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

ciation, read the address which was generally approved of.

Citizens Eccarius and Jung undertook the translation.

Cit. *Milner* gave notice that he would move on some future occasion that the desirability of making an International Price-Book to promote direct exchanges between organised bodies of working men be considered.

The Council then adjourned.

Chairman *G. MILNER*
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

February 15

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Rühl, Serraillier, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Dupont* had received a long letter from Lyons, but had not had time to read it yet. It had reference to a difference existing amongst the older and the younger members of the Association in that town.

It was agreed to hand the matter over to the Sub-Committee to report upon.[295]

A protest against the proceedings of the French Government in the Rochefort affair, published by the Paris members of the Association, was communicated.

Citizens *Dupont* and *Serraillier* thought the movement to erect barricades had been spontaneous.[296]

Cit. *Rühl* presented credentials as delegate from the German Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein. He was admitted.

Cit. *Dupont* had received copies of a new paper

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 44-45 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

published by the Rouen section under the title of *La Réforme Sociale.* To evade the depositing of caution money arrangements had been made to print it in Belgium. £700 had been collected for the weavers on strike.

There seemed to be no inclination to make progress in the matter of the International Price-Book and the Council adjourned.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

February 22

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Lucraft.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Letters were received from Sheffield stating that the Surgical Instrument-Makers' Society was dissolved; from Mr. Gregory of Florida announcing his intention of coming to England to engage emigrants; from R. Hume of Long Island on the labour movement in America; from Neumayer of Vienna asking advice about the trial in which [he] was involved.[297]

The last letter was referred to the Sub-Committee.

A letter was also received from the Council of the Sunday League applying for rent.

The Secretary was instructed to send a suitable reply and state the reasons why the rent had accumulated.

Cit. *Jung* read extracts from papers to the effect that

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 45-46 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the dwellings of all the Paris members who signed the declaration about the Rochefort affair had been searched and that a warrant was issued against Combault. At Johannard's, letters from Dupont had been found which, the papers stated, gave evidence of a conspiracy against the emperor. The engineer Mégy who had shot the policeman had been in possession of a ball ticket to the Tuileries.

At Naples a search had been made at the meeting-place of the International for papers, without a search warrant being produced by the police officer. The president, secretary, and a lawyer who had protested against it as illegal had been arrested. The Association consisted of 3,000 members and had existed two years without ever interfering in politics.

The *Réveil* contained a paragraph from a Spanish paper according to which the governments of Austria, Italy, and France are going to* take rigorous measures against the International. The Madrid section has entered an action for libel against a paper that accuses the Association there of getting money from abroad to create disorder.

Cit. *Jung* stated that he had seen the Secretary of the City Branch of the Shoemakers; they were in a bad state, but would soon pay their contributions.

Cit. *Milner* moved and *Townshend* seconded that the secretaries be instructed to appeal to the affiliated societies at home and abroad for contributions. Carried unanimously.

The International Price-Book motion was again adjourned.

A. A. WALTON, Chairman
JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Sec.

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* Here the words "arrest the" are crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*COUNCIL MEETING**

March 1

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Rühl, Walton, Weston.*

Cit. *Walton* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from Paris announced the establishment of a German section at Paris.[298]

In answer to an inquiry contained in the letter it was resolved that the section should correspond directly with the General Council.

Cit. *Dupont* stated Varlin had been released from prison.[299]

Cit. *Jung* stated that at Besançon subscriptions had been collected for *La Réforme Sociale* and a section of the Association had been established. At Lille and Roubaix sections had likewise been established. More searches had been made. The German socialists of Paris had protested against Varlin's arrest.[300]

Cit. *Lintern* attended from the Tottenham Court Road branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners. He was unanimously admitted.

Cit. *Dupont* excused the absence of Serraillier, and *Jung* that of Marx.

The Sub-Committee was summoned to meet on Saturday.[301]

The Council then adjourned.

J. COHN, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Sec.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 46-47 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

March 8

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Stepney, Serraillier, Townshend.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from the American correspondent R. Hume containing the writer's views on the labour question.[302]

A letter from the Velvet-Weavers of Lyons made application for particulars respecting the same trade in London and wished to enter into correspondence with the London Velvet-Weavers.

Citizens Hales and Milner were appointed to wait on the Velvet-Weavers.

A letter was received from Cit. Richard from Lyons announcing that a great delegate meeting was to be held on the 13th, and asked for 3,000 cards.

Cit. Dupont was instructed to send the cards.

THE SUB-COMMITTEE MADE
THE FOLLOWING REPORT:

Citizens! The Lyonese section of the International Working Men's Association, in virtue of a resolution passed at the Congress of Basle, 1869, to the effect that the General Council shall act as umpire in cases where differences arise between members of the Association, has appealed to the Council to decide between Albert Richard on one side and Schettel, Cormier, A. Blanc, Chanoz and Vindry on the other side, the latter being members of the old section of Lyons.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 47-48 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The General Council, having examined the documents sent by that section, declares the accusations made to be without the least foundation and confirms the verdict of the two special commissions appointed on that subject: the first at the Congress of Lausanne, 1867, and the second at Geneva, 1869, and maintains Albert Richard in the post of Corresponding Secretary of the International Working Men's Association conformably to the Rules and Regulations.

Considering also that the call made by the old members upon the radical burgesses to give a decision in this case which ought only to have been known to the members of the Association is contrary to the Rules, spirit, and interest of the Association and of a nature of profiting the enemies, the General Council censures energetically the conduct of the old members of the section.

The General Council takes advantage of the position in which it is placed by this misunderstanding to remind all the members of the Association that before any publication or any public action it should be apprised of it, as this mode of proceeding is calculated to excite personal animosities which should be carefully avoided at all times, and produces divisions in our ranks, and can only be useful to our adversaries at a time when all the activity, all the strength, and all the energy of our members should be concentrated for the speedy triumph of the principles of the International Working Men's Association.

The report was unanimously adopted[303] and the Council adjourned.

THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD, March 15th*

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS

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* This is the day when the Minutes were confirmed.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

March 15

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Jung, Lessner, Lintern, Lucraft, Marx,*** *Milner, Mottershead.*

Cit. *Mottershead* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from the editor of the *Bee-Hive* repudiating the charge of the Secretary*** that Mr. Hume's letter in the report of the previous week had been burked.

A letter was received from the Secretary**** of the Prolétaires Positivistes of Paris containing the conditions of admission to the society. They admit no royalists, no theologians, no metaphysicians, no doctrine which is not based on demonstrable laws. They profess to be Republican Socialists. They contend that wealth is of social origin, but in its appropriation private rights must be respected. They aim at social regeneration without God or King and hope to bring it about by the propagation of the positivist doctrine.

Cit. *Marx* said they were against every religion but Comte's, but their rules were too exclusive and contrary to the General Rules of the Association.[304]

Cit. *Lucraft* enquired why they had been asked those particulars.

Cit. *Dupont* replied that they had been asked for their rules and by-laws and this was the answer.

Cit. *Milner* proposed that Cit. Dupont be instructed to point out the discrepancy in his reply.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 49-50 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Marx's name was inserted later.—*Ed.*

*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

**** Laporte.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx, Mottershead* and others were against admitting them as positivists.

Cit. *Dupont* considered them wrong but thought it would be impolitic to refuse their admission as they took an active part in the movement.

Upon reference to the Minutes it was stated that they had already been admitted.*

Cit. Milner's proposition was then agreed to.

A letter from Cit. Varlin stated that the Association was being resuscitated at Paris. There were now five trade societies that had adhered, and Cit. Durand was endeavouring to form a jewellers' section because the whole society will not join. Cit. Varlin had been delegated by the Paris members to attend the meeting at Lyons.[305] It had been agreed to federalise the Paris sections.[306] He had been imprisoned 14 days and let loose again without having been asked a single question.

Cit. *Lucraft* gave notice that he would bring on the question of La Branche Française** for consideration at a future meeting.

A long conversation then ensued respecting the velvet trade, after which the Council adjourned.

J. COHN

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING****

March 22

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Mottershead, Rühl, Serraillier, Weston.*

Cit. *Cohn* in the chair.

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* See p. 210 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Reference is to the French branch in London.—*Ed.*

*** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 50-51 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from the German section of Paris was received applying for cards and the English Labour Organ.

The Secretary was instructed to reply and refer to Pindy for cards.

Another letter was received from the German section of New York containing certain suggestions.

It was agreed to refer the letter to the German Secretary for America.[307]

Cit. *Jung* read a letter from Ph. Becker of Geneva, who stated that he had joined the editorial staff of the *Egalité* to prevent mischief. He felt rather annoyed at the questions put to him by the Swiss Secretary* which he designated the pupil catechising the schoolmaster. He had been told by the Paris [German] section that the Council had ordered to correspond with London, which he interpreted as trying to discard him.[308] Cit. Jung observed that the Paris correspondent had not informed Becker that he had inquired whether they might correspond with London.

The Secretary was instructed to mention it in his reply to Paris and Cit. Jung in his reply to Becker.

Ph. Becker further stated that he had never received any money from Goegg** for the General Council, and only last month £2 for the Geneva Committee; he thought there was an intrigue going on.

A letter from Geneva announced the formation of a Russian section and applied for its affiliation.[309] The spreading of the International movement into Russia, it was stated, would be an effectual check to Pan-Slavism. The preliminary work had so far succeeded that correspondences had been entered into with Poles, Czechs, and

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* Jung.—*Ed.*

** See p. 202 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Slavonians. The section desired Cit. Marx to become their representative at the Council because the practical character of the movement was so similar in Germany and Russia, the writings of Marx were so generally known and appreciated by the Russian youth, and he had always exposed the sinister proceedings of the so-called Russian patriots. On no account would they accept any Russian resident of London for their representative. The section does not agree with Bakunin. They are going to expose such as advocate one principle in the West and another in the East.

The affiliation was unanimously carried.

The letter from Paris announced the adhesion of the Lithographic Printers' Society, numbering 350 members,* and the voting of the contributions out of the funds. The addresses of the trade [societies] of Vienna, Berlin, and London were desired to enter into correspondence for the purpose of arranging a uniform tariff.

The Secretary was instructed to write to the London compositors to ascertain particulars.

The Tin-Plate Workers of Paris, numbering 250 members, also announced their adhesion.

The affiliations were unanimously carried.

General Cluseret of New York was appointed correspondent of the Association.

Letters were also received from Richard of Lyons and Bastelica of Marseilles stating that the meeting of the 13th instant had been a great success.[310]

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* The words "numbering 350 members" were inserted later. The original version of "300 and 400 members" was corrected to "350 members".—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

March 29

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lintern, Lucraft, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from the German Labour Union of New York applied for Congress reports and Rules.[311]

A letter from Basle announced that the various sections of that town, with the exception of the mother section, had merged into one, but that section stands out to the grief of the rest, who desire them to be excluded.

The Swiss Secretary** was instructed to refer them to the Central Committee of Switzerland, whose duty it was to inquire into the matter and report to the Council.

A letter from Barcelonnette applied for credentials for Cit.*** to establish a section in that town. The applicant stated that he was an old member of the Marseilles Sailors' Society, that he was now a professor of physics in the employment of government, having chosen that in preference to becoming a soldier. His principles had brought about his transposition from Marseilles to Barcelonnette, which was a step downward. There was [no] special industry in the town, only artisans and rural labourers.

The credentials were granted.

Cit. *Jung* announced that a congress was to be held of the Romance sections of Switzerland and a Spanish congress at Madrid. He proposed that Cit. Serraillier write

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on p. 52 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Jung.—*Ed.*

*** Reference is to Charles Alerini.—*Ed.*

to Madrid to remind the section that they had not yet conformed to the Rules. Cit. *Dupont* seconded. Carried.

A unanimous vote expressing the sympathy of the Council with Cit. Marx on account of his continued illness was passed.[312]

The Council [adjourned] at a quarter past 10 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

April 5

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Milner, Mottershead, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend.*

Cit. *J. Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from the Sunday League renewing the application for arrears of rent.

A letter from the Painters' Society of Paris, numbering 500 members, applied for affiliation.

A letter from Besançon applied for Rules.

A letter from Brest announced the formation of a section consisting of 14 members and applied for affiliation. Constant Ledoré correspondent.

A letter from Paris announced that a mutual credit section was in course of formation.

The affiliations were ratified and the correspondents admitted.

Cit. *Eccarius* announced that Neumayer of Vienna Newtown* had been acquitted.[313]

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 52-53 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

* Wiener-Neustadt.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Petersen* of the Paris German section was present and stated that he was about to go to Denmark on a visit.

On the proposition of Cit. *Lessner* credentials were unanimously granted to establish sections or correspondences as he might deem advisable.

Cit. *Jung* stated that the Engineers were willing to receive a deputation on Thursday night.

As the Secretary was not able to attend that night Cit. Dupont was appointed in his place.

Respecting the financial affairs Cit. *Jung* proposed that Cit. Dupont should write to Paris, and Cit. Serraillier volunteered to write to Brussels.

Cit. *Jung* further suggested that the Congress programme might be drawn up and sent out which would be an inducement for the sections to bring up their contributions.

Cit. *Milner* considered that the best proposition of all.

Cit. *Hales* was for a financial statement being drawn up as to the indispensable expenditure and gave notice that he would move that a finance committee be appointed on the next meeting night.

The Council adjourned at half past 10.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

April 12

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Serraillier.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 54-55 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

A letter from Varlin of Paris announced that he had been to Lille to inaugurate a trade union organisation under the auspices of the Association. The various trade societies would be directed by a Federal Council.

The commercial employees of Dijon had announced their adhesion to the Association in [a] letter to Varlin.

Cit. *Jung* had received a long letter from La Chaux-de-Fonds announcing a split at the congress. In consequence of a majority having voted for the admission of the Social-Democratic Alliance of Geneva, the Geneva and La Chaux-de-Fonds delegates had withdrawn and continued the congress by themselves.[314]

The reading of the letter was postponed and Cit. Jung instructed to write to both parties for full particulars.

Cit. *Marx* had received an application for credentials from Rotterdam,[315] the applicant accused someone to act with false credentials.

Cit. *Marx* further announced that complaints were made by members of the Association abroad about the conduct of the *Bee-Hive* and gave notice to bring the matter on for consideration at the next meeting.

On the recommendation of Cit. Lafargue, Cit. *Marx* proposed that credentials be given to Henri Verlet of Paris, who is editor of a free thought* journal.** Carried.[316]

Cit. *Dupont**** called the attention of the Council to the severe sentences passed upon the miners imprisoned in consequence of the strike at Creusot, and proposed that the Council should issue an address.

The proposition was carried and Citizens Marx and Dupont appointed to draw up the address.[317]

Cit. *Jung* reported the interview with the Council of the Amalgamated Engineers. The Council was willing to

* The original text gave "free trade journal".—*Ed.*
** *La Libre Pensée.*—*Ed.*
*** Jung's name was first inserted and then crossed out.—*Ed.*

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Карта эта выдана

въ удостовѣреніе его принадлежности, какъ члена, къ Русской Секціи Международнаго Товарищества Рабочихъ.

Члены всѣхъ секцій и федерацій Интернаціональной Ассоціаціи приглашаются оказывать нашему члену братскую помощь во всемъ, въ чемъ она можетъ требоваться въ интересахъ общаго дѣла.

Люди, желающіе присоединиться къ нашему Товариществу для участія въ дѣлѣ обще-народнаго Освобожденія, могутъ обращаться съ довѣріемъ къ предъявителю этой карты.

Секретарь Русской Секціи

La présente carte certifie que le citoyen

son porteur, est membre de la **Branche Russe de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.**

En vertu de quoi nous prions tous et toutes appartenant à notre grande Association dans tous les pays, de recevoir le dit citoyen fraternellement et de lui accorder l'usage de tous les droits de membre de l'Association.

Le Secrétaire.

Dem Bürger

wird hiermit bescheinigt, dass er als Mitglied der Sectionsgruppe **russischer Sprache der Internationalen Arbeitergenossenschaft** *aufgenommen wurde, nachdem er die ihm dadurch auferlegten Pflichten treulich zu erfüllen versprach.*

Die Mitglieder aller Lænder werden ihn, wann und wo er ihnen begegnen mag, stets freundlich willkommen heissen und ihm zu allen gemeinschaftlichen Bestrebungen die Bruderhand reichen.

Der Secretær.

Membership card of the Russian section of the First International

enter into communications with the Engineers of Germany and France and desired particulars as to the state and administration of the Engineers' Societies in the respective countries. The Council had agreed to forward the particular questions to be replied to in writing.

The secretaries for France and Germany were instructed to apply for the particulars.[318]

Cit. *Jung* thought that a little more caution should be used in future in giving credentials than had been used in the case of Citizen Petersen.*

The *Secretary* stated that Cit. Petersen was an old adherent of the Socialist Party, he was a member of the German branch of Paris and was going on a visit to Copenhagen where he might open communications that were much required.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

JOHN WESTON, Chairman
J. G. ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL***

April 19

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Marx, Maurice, Stepney, Serraillier, Weston.*

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was received from the New York correspondent Hume accompanied by a memorial asking for the appointment of special representatives for the different nationalities in various countries.

* See p. 223 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 55-56 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Marx* disagreed with the memorial as the different nationalities were represented on the Council and the rest must be left to the correspondents of the Association.[319]

The letter pointed out that the trade union movement tended to assume the form of secret societies in the United States. This was confirmed by a letter from the German correspondent of New York who appealed to the Council to interfere by trying to dissuade Hume and Jessup from taking part in it.

It was agreed that the Council was, under existing circumstances, not in a position to decide upon the merits of the question but that the Secretary should solicit information as to what was the cause that necessitated secret societies in America.

Cit. *Jung* announced that the new party in Switzerland had established a newspaper* and styled themselves the real party.[320] There were some discrepancies between the statements of the two parties. He had received a long letter from the old Swiss Secretary** who had withdrawn from the Committee. The constituency of the new Committee numbered about 600, that of the Geneva Committee about 2,000 members.

Cit. *Serraillier* announced the receipt of a letter from Brussels stating that it had been delayed on purpose of accompanying it with part of the contributions but the money had not yet come in. There was no resolution respecting the French branch on the Congress Minutes.[321]

Cit. *Marx* gave notice to call the attention of the Council to the conduct of the *Bee-Hive*.***

Cit. Charles Murray was admitted as delegate from the West End Bootclosers.

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* *La Solidarité*.—*Ed.*
** Perret.—*Ed.*
*** This sentence was inserted later.—*Ed.*

Cit. Flourens[322] and Lullier were nominated by *Dupont* and *Serraillier*.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Gen. Sec.

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

April 26

Members present: *Applegarth, Boon, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Jung, Milner, Mottershead, Pfänder, Rühl, Lessner, Marx, Serraillier, Stepney.*

Cit. *Hales* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced that the Dutch and the Flemish sections had held a congress and that the Association was spreading in Holland.[323]

Cit. *Jung* announced that he had received a letter from Guillaume stating that all the particulars would appear in the *Solidarity*** and expressing a hope that the Council would not decide hastily.[324]

A letter from Cit. Petersen of Copenhagen announced the foundation of a Democratic Society which might become a section of the International. Documents were asked for and a wish expressed to appoint Cit. Cohn Corresponding Secretary for Denmark.[325]

A letter from Cit. Bastelica of Marseilles announced the establishment of new sections in the Department of the Var, at Cogolin, Gonfaron, La Garde-Freinet, Collobrières.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 56-59 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** *La Solidarité.*—*Ed.*

An address from the Paris painters to the London painters was received.

Cit. *Jung* proposed that a deputation should wait on the London painters to present the address.

The proposition was agreed to and Citizens Applegarth, Hales, and Jung were appointed as the deputation.

Cit. *Dupont* announced that the Paris sections had re-established their Central Committee[326] who had issued an address against the plebiscite. Among the names attached to the address were those [of] Camélinat, Combault, Franquin, Lafargue, Reymond, Berthoumieu.[327]

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the Council should cut off all connections with the *Bee-Hive*.[328] He said it had suppressed our resolutions and mutilated our reports and delayed them so that the dates had been falsified, even the mention that certain questions respecting the Irish prisoners were being discussed had been suppressed.

Next to that, the tone of the *Bee-Hive* was contrary to the Rules and platform of the Association. It preached harmony with the capitalists, and the Association had declared war against the capitalists' rule.

Besides this, our branches abroad complained that by sending our reports to the *Bee-Hive* we gave it a moral support and led people to believe that we endorsed its policy. We would be better without its publicity than with it.

On the Irish Coercion Bill[329] it had not said a word against the government.

Cit. *Mottershead* said the sooner every honest man cut the *Bee-Hive* the better. He seconded the proposition.

Cit. *Jung* said he had been ashamed to send it abroad. He had often been asked how it was that the *Bee-Hive* was so far behind. It perverted the labour movement. He wished that the break should be made public. One thing was rather awkward, it was that some members of the Council belonged to the *Bee-Hive* Committee as well and

if a declaration was published against the *Bee-Hive* their position would become untenable either in one place or the other.

Cit. *Applegarth* thought he had a bad case in hand. Some time ago a change of proprietorship had occurred and the paper had been offered to the Labour Representation League[330] to manage it as it liked. He had thought it might yet be a good paper and through that his name had got on the committee but he valued his connection with the International far too much not to cheerfully resign his post on the *Bee-Hive*.

Cit. *Milner* thought it was below the dignity of the Council as an international body to entertain the question of the policy of the *Bee-Hive*.

Cit. *Mottershead* entertained all the contempt that Milner did but the break must be made public on account of the Association abroad. He confirmed Cit. Applegarth's statements as to getting his name on the *Bee-Hive* Committee. The outside public, he said, never think and they look upon the *Bee-Hive* as the working men's paper. It used to be milk and water, the milk has evaporated, it is only water now.

Cit. *Milner* said: if it was to be made public a simple resolution would not do; the reasons ought to be given.

The proposition was unanimously carried.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Applegarth*, it was unanimously resolved that Cit. Marx should draw up a declaration for publication and submit it at the next meeting.*

Cit. *Marx* desired that the issuing of an address concerning the Creusot trials should be postponed.** From everywhere money was sent, and it would have a bad effect if London sent only words. Agreed.

The *Secretary* mentioned that a notice to appoint a

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* See pp. 239-40 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** See p. 224 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

finance committee had not been considered at a previous meeting.*

Citizens *Mottershead* and *Hales* spoke in favour of such a committee to procure the necessary funds.

Cit. *Applegarth* moved and *Lessner* seconded that a finance committee be appointed. Carried.

It was further unanimously resolved that Citizens Mottershead, Lucraft, and Harris be the finance committee.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

R. APPLEGARTH, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE [COUNCIL]***

May 3[331]

Members present: *Cohn, Dupont, Applegarth, Eccarius, Hales John, Hales Wil., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Rühl, Lucraft, Murray, Stepney, Townshend.*

Cit. *Applegarth* in the chair. The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Cit. Stepney stating that as the secretary's salary was very small and as it was desirable that the Council should have a place where all the documents of the Association could be deposited he should make a donation of £10 to the funds. A second letter from Cit. Stepney announced that in consequence of the occurrences at Paris he should resign his office as treasurer.

The *Secretary* added that Cit. Stepney had verbally stated to him that he considered impolitic that a man of his social position should occupy so prominent a place in a working men's association, that no change whatever had occurred in his sentiments respecting the aims and objects of the Association.

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* See p. 223 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 59-61 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Hales J.* proposed that in consideration of the reasons given the resignation be accepted and the thanks of the Council expressed for his aid and sympathies, which was unanimously carried.

The *Chairman* then communicated what had passed to Cit. Stepney who reiterated his assurance of support to, and sympathies with, the Association.

Cit. *Jung* announced the receipt of a letter from a young Belgian professor residing at present in Wales, who desired to become a member of the Association and act as one of its most devoted champions.

A letter from Cit. Richard of Lyons announced the formation of a new section at Richard,* and Cit. Varlin was travelling to establish new branches. The letter contained a cheque for £6 7s., of which 10 fr. were for the St. Etienne section, the rest for Lyons.

Cit. *Marx* then called the attention of the Council to the circumstances that many members of the Association had been arrested in France and that the government papers had endeavoured to spread it abroad that the Association was implicated in a pretended plot against the emperor.[332] To refute those insinuations he proposed the following**:

On the occasion of the last pretended complot, the French Government has not only arrested many members of our Paris and Lyons sections, but insinuated by its organs that the *International Working Men's Association* is an accomplice of that pretended complot. According to the tenor of our Statutes, it is certainly the special mission of all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in the United States, to act not only as centres for the organisation of the working class, but also to aid, in their different countries, all political movements tending to the

* A mistake. Should be Lyons.—*Ed.*

** Here, p. 60, a sheet of paper is pasted into the Minute Book with the text of the resolution in Marx's hand.—*Ed.*

accomplishment of our ultimate end, viz., the *economical emancipation of the working class.* At the same time, these Statutes bind all the sections of our Association to act in open daylight. If our Statutes were not formal on that point, the very nature of an Association which identifies itself with the working classes, would exclude from it every form of secret society. If the working classes, who form the great bulk of all nations, who produce all their wealth, and in the name of whom even the usurping powers always pretend to rule, conspire, they conspire publicly, as the sun conspires against darkness, in the full consciousness that without their pale there exists no legitimate power.

If the other incidents of the complot denounced by the French Government are as false and unfounded as its insinuations against the *International Working Men's Association*, this last complot will worthily range with its two predecessors of grotesque memory.[333] The noisy and violent measures against our French sections are exclusively intended serving one single purpose—*the manipulation of the plebiscite.**

Cit. *Harris* seconded the proposal, which was adopted unanimously and ordered to be signed and a copy handed to the newspaper reporters Coningsby and Hartwell, who were present by special permission. Copies were also ordered to be sent to the newspapers abroad.[334]

It was then agreed that six months' rent should be paid.**

Cit. *Jung* nominated and *Serraillier* seconded Citizens Agossa and Bora to become members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD
May 10th, 1870

* The insert ends here. See p. 93 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Here the words "The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock" are crossed out in the MS.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

May 10

Members present: *Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Maurice, Murray, Milner, Lucraft, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, Mottershead, Weston.*

Cit. *Mottershead* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Serraillier* announced the receipt of a letter from Palma** which he had not had time to translate.

Jung stated that a great many of our members had been arrested in France. At Lyons the police had seized everything and Aubry at Rouen was in prison.

Cit. *Maurice* said that Napoleon had at first permitted the establishment of the Association to frighten the bourgeoisie, simply to show that himself was necessary to keep the work-people down.

Cit. *Jung* observed that the Association had only been tolerated, not permitted.[335]

The finance committee then reported that the old balance-sheet was not yet audited, that the present year had commenced with a balance of £15 7s. 1d., and that including the balance the income was £51 8s. 7d. and the expenditure £47 7s. 5d., and that the arrears of rent amounted to £4 4s. The estimate of arrears due for 1869 amounted to upwards of £5.

Cit. *Mottershead* stated that the finance committee intended to send letters to the societies in arrears and that it would be desirable to draw up the Congress programme to apply for the contributions of the current year.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 61-64 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Originally "Barcelona" was written here.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Maurice* would like to know what the Association was owing to him for rent in Castle Street.[336] He did not want the money but he should like to know the amount. He further desired that a black board should be hung up with the societies on that were in arrears.

Cit. *Jung* stated that some who owed money had never been asked and did not know what they owed. The City Shoemakers' Society, of which Yeomanson was Secretary, had joined but had never been written to. Danter, the President of the Engineers, had also asked what he owed.

The *Secretary* stated he had never received the address of the City Shoemakers nor any declaration of their joining. Respecting the rent of Castle Street it appeared from the account book that the Council had met there from June 1867 to June 1868.

Cit. *Mottershead* stated that these were liabilities he never heard of.

Cit. *Lucraft* said it was all right, only a little misunderstanding, Cit. Maurice was not going to charge the rent, he was going to make the Association a present of it.

Cit. *Mottershead* resumed the report of the finance committee and proposed that £3 3s. rent should be paid and the arrears called in.

Cit. *Jung* thought there was a prior claim to Cottam for the printing of cards to whom the Association owed £6. Besides that Cit. Dupont, the French Secretary, had incurred considerable outlay in postage; he therefore proposed that only two months be paid and one pound be given to Dupont.

The *Chairman* said he had heard nothing of any [of] these debts from the Secretary.

The *Secretary* stated that he had entirely forgotten to mention this debt but if the old liabilities were to be gone into, there were older than that. Of the £40 liabilities at the Geneva Congress only £21 had been paid and £2 10s. had been borrowed since from Dell when he was treasurer.

This brought up the question that the old auditors had not done their duty.

Cit. *Milner,* rather indignantly, repudiated the charge and stated that he had been at his post but not considered himself justified to sign the book in the absence of the other auditor, Cit. Weston, the more so as the books were not kept in a systematic manner.

Cit. *Weston* said he could not have been present as he had been engaged on a country job at the time.

Cit. *Lucraft* stated that there was no intention to find fault with anybody, all that was required was that old auditors should meet before Tuesday next.

The *Chairman* said the question before the chair was the finance committee's report.

Cit. *Jung* proposed as an amendment that two guineas rent and one pound for postage be paid, the latter to the French Secretary.

Cit. *Lessner* seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously.

The *Chairman* reminded the Council that the resignation of the Treasurer* had been accepted and that it was necessary to appoint a new one.

Cit. *Lessner* proposed and Cit. *Murray* seconded that Cit. Weston be treasurer. Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Weston* accepted and did not think he would have much work to do.

Cit. *Lullier* was unanimously elected a member of the Council, who said that previous revolutions had failed for want of solidarity amongst the working class but that the Association would set that matter right. He would do his best to assist.

Cit. *Jung* stated that Marx was absent on account of illness and proposed in his name the following resolution respecting the London French Federal Branch which had

* Cowell Stepney.—*Ed.*

ceased to belong to the Association about two years ago but was always using its name.*

Considering,

that addresses, resolutions and manifestoes emanating from a *French society in London* which styles itself: "*International Working Men's Association, French Federal Branch*", have recently been published by continental papers and ascribed to the "*International Working Men's Association*"[337];

that the "*International Working Men's Association*" is at present undergoing severe persecutions on the part of the Austrian and French Governments which eagerly catch at** the most flimsy pretexts for justifying such persecutions;

that under these circumstances the General Council would incur a serious*** responsibility in allowing any society not belonging to the "*International*" to use and act in its name;

the General Council hereby declares that the so-called *London French Federal Branch* has since two years ceased to form part of the "*International*" and to have any connection whatever with the General Council in London or any Branch**** of that Association on the continent.

London, 10 May 1870*****

Cit. *Jung* proposed and *Maurice* seconded that it be sent to all the papers.[338] Carried.

Cit. *Jung* further proposed that in future all the names

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* On p. 63 of the Minute Book a piece of paper bearing the resolution written in Marx's hand is pasted. The paper is torn, the second half being pasted on p. 64.—*Ed.*

** Here the word "seize" has been crossed out and the words "catch up" written instead of it.—*Ed.*

*** Originally the word "grave" was written here.—*Ed.*

**** The words "in London or any Branch" and "on the continent" were written by Eccarius.—*Ed.*

***** The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

of the Council members should be signed to official documents whether the members were present or not.

Cit. *Harris* thought it an unwarrantable liberty but if it must be done he would submit. The proposition was carried.

Cit. *Weston* was anxious that the Congress programme should be drawn up in time to discuss it so that the delegates might know the opinion of the Council. He thought co-operation an important question.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

G. E. HARRIS, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

May 17

Members present: *Agossa, Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Maurice, Milner, Pfänder, Mottershead, Serraillier, Stepney, Weston.*

Cit. *Harris* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizens Agossa and Bora were unanimously elected as members of the Council.

Citizens *Jung, Eccarius,* and *Serraillier* considered the fact of their having been members of the section of Geneva** sufficient recommendation.

Cit. *Eccarius* proposed and *Dupont* seconded that Cit. Agossa be appointed as Secretary for Italy. Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Marx* read a letter from the General Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany inviting the

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 64-67 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The word "Italian" is crossed out before the words "section of Geneva".—*Ed.*

Council to decide upon holding the next Congress in Germany.[339] Cit. Marx stated that under present circumstances Paris was out of the question, and as Congresses had already been held both in Belgium and Switzerland Germany would be the preferable place. He therefore proposed the following resolution which was seconded by Cit. *Milner* which after a few approving remarks from Cit. *Jung* was carried unanimously:

Considering,

That by the Basle Congress Paris was appointed as the meeting-place for this year's Congress of the International Working Men's Association;

That the present French regime continuing, the Congress will not be able to meet at Paris;

That nevertheless the preparations for the meeting render an immediate resolution necessary;

That article 3 of the Statutes obliges the Council to change, in case of need, the place of meeting appointed by the Congress;

That the Central Committee of the German Social-Democratic Working Men's Party has invited the General Council to transfer this year's Congress to Germany;

The General Council has in its sitting of the 17th of May unanimously resolved that this year's Congress of the International Working Men's Association be opened on the 5th September next and meet at Mayence.[340]

Cit. *Serraillier* read a letter from Palma in which it was stated that every obstacle that had been thrown in the way of establishing the Association there had been overthrown. The masons, the carpenters, the shoemakers and other trades had founded a Federal Council at which 20 societies were represented. They had formed co-operative societies of consumption and production and since the establishment of their union they had raised their wages and shortened the hours of labour. They had also formed a sailors' union consisting of 300 members.

Cit. *Serraillier* read also a letter from De Paepe of Brussels containing £3 19s. 2d. on account of contributions. The letter stated that Varlin, Combault and Huart from Paris had escaped and were in Brussels. De Paepe had received a letter from Caporusso of Naples stating that the police was trying hard to put them down. De Paepe asked the opinion of the Council on the affairs of Switzerland.

A letter from Barcelona announced that a report of the Madrid Congress should be sent.[341]

Cit. *Jung* had received a private letter from Perret of Geneva who wished the Council to decide soon upon the Swiss quarrel.* Bastelica was safe at Geneva.

A letter from Cit. Moriamé stated that plebiscite[342] would speed the Social Revolution and make triumph.

An article was received out of the *Messager du Midi* in France. It stated that the International was the strongest society that ever existed, it ordered and put down strikes at pleasure, and that the former police prosecutions had only checked it for a time but not dissolved it.

Cit. *Marx* proposed and Cit. *Weston* seconded the following resolution concerning the *Bee-Hive*.**

Considering,

1) that the different International sections of the Continent and the United States have been advised by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to subscribe to the *Bee-Hive* newspaper as the official organ of the General Council and the representative in the English press of the Working-Class movement;

2) that the *Bee-Hive* has not only erased from the official reports of the General Council such resolutions as might displease its patrons, but, by way of suppression, has

* See p. 368 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Further, on p. 66, a piece of paper with the resolution written in Marx's hand is pasted. The second half of the paper is pasted on p. 67.—*Ed.*

systematically misrepresented the tenor of consecutive sittings of the General Council;

3) that mainly since its recent change of proprietorship,[343] while still pretending to be the exclusive organ of the working class, the *Bee-Hive* has, in reality, become the organ of a capitalist fraction who want to keep the proletarian movement in their leading strings and use it as a means for the furtherance of their own class and party purposes;

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association, in its sitting of the 26th of April 1870, has unanimously resolved to sever its connection with the *Bee-Hive*, and to publicly announce this resolution to its different sections in England, on the Continent, and in the United States.*

Carried unanimously.[344]

The Italian Secretary was instructed to prepare a letter to Caporusso and submit it to the Council at the next meeting.

Cit. *Harris* submitted a letter to be sent to the societies in arrears from the finance committee, which was approved.

Dupont proposed and *Eccarius* seconded that the Sub-Committee draw up the Congress programme; agreed.**

Cit. Milner was added to the Sub-Committee.

Cit. *Maurice* proposed and Cit. *Lessner* seconded that inquiries be made for another place to meet in. Agreed.

Cit. *Dupont* proposed and *Lessner* seconded that in consequence of the arrests at Paris Lafargue be appointed special correspondent; carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at a quarter to 11 o'clock.

JOHN WESTON

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

** See pp. 372-73, 374 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

May 24

Members present: *Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Maurice, Milner, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Weston* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous [meeting] were read and with one correction** confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from Julian Harney of Boston commenting on the French plot, the wholesale imprisonment of the members of the Association, and plebiscite dodge and expressing a desire that it might be Napoleon's fate to be tried and executed. Another part of the letter disapproved of the action taken by the Council respecting the Irish political prisoners,*** declared a disgust of Fenianism and contended that Ireland was an integral part of the British Empire. The writer remitted one pound as his contribution.

A letter from *Sorge* of New York announced that a committee of the German Labour Union of that town consisting of 20 societies had reported favourably on becoming affiliated. The writer asked whether General Cluseret was correspondent of the Association.[345]

The *Secretary* read the following declaration from the New York Correspondent Hume, published in the *New-Yorker Democrat,* on the French plot.****

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 67-70 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The correction was apparently to the text of the resolution concerning *The Bee-Hive*; in point 2, the word "protectors" was changed to "patrons".—*Ed.*

*** See p. 183 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

**** Here three newspaper clippings are pasted into the Minute Book (p. 68).—*Ed.*

FRENCH WORKMEN NOT CONSPIRATORS

The Slanders of the "Associated Press" and of Louis Napoleon's Police Spies Exposed and Denounced

New York, May 4, 1870

To the Editor of the *Democrat.*

Early in April last it was my duty as agent of the European International Working Men's Association to lay before you the resolutions of a meeting of London workmen, at which the veteran George Odger was chairman. I did so because Mr. Gladstone had previously refused to hear personally the prayers of his starving countrymen. Although I am an American citizen, on their behalf, permit me to thank you for your kindness.

I have now another favour to ask of you as the friend of the oppressed. It is this. During the past week about six cable telegrams have been published here accusing the International Association of instigating an attempt on the life of the ex-President of the Republic of France, Louis Napoleon.[346] Those who are personally acquainted with the members of the Council now sitting in London, need not be told that such statements are entirely false and unworthy of credence. In France, so stale a police *canard* will cost the Government so many votes in the cities as it gains in the departments. With Jacques Bonhomme* it may prove a good enough Morgan till after the election. It is cruel to cook such nonsense and bamboozle the members of the "Associated Press" out of their money, by palming off on them such a foolish fabrication and labelling it "Reliable Intelligence from France".

The members of the International Working Men's Association are not lazy conspirators, and do not purpose landing at Boulogne with a ragged eagle for the purpose of overthrowing the present Government of France; neither do they desire to assassinate anyone there, as, not being of the blood royal,[347] they would be likely to be guillotined if they succeeded in effecting any such purpose. Their simple end and aim is to secure to all producers the produce of their toils, or a righteous exchange therefor. To effect this just purpose they have declared their intention to hold their next Congress in Paris, to discuss the question as to the proper methods to be used to carry out their intentions. Should Louis Napoleon be then on hand, which is problematical, he will then have the opportunity (through the French police) of seizing the documents of the Society

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* Jacques, the simpleton—name for a French peasant.—*Ed.*

wholesale, and not be reduced to the necessity of attacking our Deputies in detail, as was done last year, when on their journey through France to Basle.

Respectfully yours,

R. W. Hume, Agent of the "International Working Men's Association".*

Rev. J. Sella Martin has been appointed by the coloured men as their delegate to the International Labour Congress, which meets in the city of Paris, in September.**

THE WORKING MEN

Letter from the General Secretary in London

The following letter to a working man in this city will be found of interest to all trades organisations:

GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[348]

London, April 23, 1870

Dear Sir, in answer to yours of the 26th ult. I am directed by the Council to state that the International Association recognises no special national interests among the working men who may happen to have been born in different countries.

One of our aims is to eliminate whatever may yet remain of national antipathies and, perhaps, animosities, from the minds of working men. The Council cannot, therefore, endorse the kind of representation implied in your memorial. General Cluseret had his feelings outraged by the French police, which was probably the reason why the trade societies gave him credentials which induced him to institute a comparison between himself and the

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* The first newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*
** The second newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

French ambassador at Washington. The French ambassador at Washington has to vindicate the personal interests of a dynasty, and the property interests of the French traders. The Paris workmen have no such interests to be taken care of on the other side of the Atlantic, against the probable encroachments of the American working men. We consider the interests of the French workmen resident in the United States strictly identical with the interests of all the other working men of the United States.

To facilitate the inter-communication of such as may be separated by difference of language, and perhaps manners, we have correspondents, who are conversant with these things, and to them we trust for managing the rest.

The communication with the United States is distributed among the secretaries of the different nationalities of the General Council. General Cluseret and Mr. Pelletier are our French correspondents in America. They correspond with our Secretary for France.* Siegfried Meyer and Vogt are our German correspondents. They correspond with the German Secretary** here, and the General Secretary*** manages the English correspondence; and beside such trade union officers as Mr. Jessup, we look to you as our correspondent in case any misunderstanding should arise between different nationalities, to endeavour to set matters right, but we cannot admit that either French or Germans have an opposite or special interest from any other workmen, and we always urge them on to take an active part in, and identify themselves with, the movement of the working men of the country, in which they reside, particularly in America.

Respecting the secret society movement, I am instructed to ask you to favour us at your convenience with your

* Dupont.—*Ed.*
** Marx.—*Ed.*
*** Eccarius.—*Ed.*

opinion as to the cause which has tended to bring about the necessity for secret action. We have been advised to persuade you and friend Jessup to publicly stand up against it, but we suppose there is a necessity for it, or else it would not have come into vogue and moreover it would be presumptuous on our part to offer advice in such a matter, but we wish to know the reasons, to bring them to the knowledge of the working men of the Old World, who have just emerged from conducting their agitation in secret.

Yours faithfully,

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary*

The *Secretary* announced that four daily and three weekly papers had published the announcement that the Congress would be held in Germany.

Cit. *Jung* said that had done harm as the resolution had not been published in full.** The Paris papers had copied it from the *Times* and would not take the resolution if it was sent. In the announcement the reasons were not given.

Cit. *Maurice* wanted to know why the *Bee-Hive* resolutions had not been published***; he proposed that they be sent to all the papers and to all the trade societies, and Council members.

The *Secretary* stated that he had been advised not to send the two things together but postpone the second *Bee-Hive* resolution. With regard to the Congress resolution he was sure that if he send [it] as an official document it would not have been inserted.

Cit. *Harris* seconded Maurice's proposition and said it

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* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** For the full text of the resolution on the convocation of a regular congress of the International Working Men's Association in Mainz see pp. 237-38 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*** See pp. 239-40 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

seemed what he had been told was correct. He and Milner both had been charged of being only dummies in the hands of others and that Marx, Jung, and the Secretary did what they liked with them. He would not be made a tool of by any man however clever he might be.

Some desultory conversation arose out of the fact of the two things being mixed.

The *Chairman* said the question before the chair was whether resolutions were to be sent as passed, or whether the Secretary should be permitted to use his own discretion and only send the substance when he considered it preferable. The Chairman was in favour of the latter.

Cit. *Hales* was in favour of sending what the Council, not what the Secretary, thought proper, and proposed that in future all communications be sent according to the direction of the Council which would relieve the Secretary of all responsibility.

Cit. *Harris* seconded the proposition, he would not trust to the Secretary to alter resolutions. Twelve men must know more [than] one, and it was no use for the Council to pass resolutions if the Secretary was to be permitted to publish only what he liked.

Cit. *Milner* could not understand how anyone could take upon himself to alter any resolutions or, after they were passed, lock them up in the book. Carried.

Cit. *Jung* said sometimes resolutions were passed that were not to be sent to the press. The *Bee-Hive* resolutions were to be published but no distinct order had been given to send them that week. If the papers inserted them it would be no use sending them to the societies, it was therefore better to try the papers first.

The *Secretary* stated the resolution had already been published in [a] German paper.

Upon the question being asked how the resolution could have been published before it was adopted, he corrected his statement that it was not the last resolution but the

decision come to on April 26 to break off the connection with the *Bee-Hive*.* That decision had been communicated in a private letter to the editor who had [it] published.

Cit. *Jung* said that would get him into scrapes with his correspondents. Instead of being a wire-puller, as Harris had asserted, he was himself in an awkward position.

Cit. *Harris* moved and *Jung* seconded that the *Bee-Hive* resolution be sent to the papers and the consideration of sending them to the trade societies be postponed. Carried.

Cit. *Bora* stated that the Italian Secretary** was in the hospital and had [not] been able to draw up the letter which he had been instructed to do.

Cit. *Dupont* stated that, according to a letter from Gen. Cluseret, the German societies of New York had joined.

Cit. *Maurice* gave notice that at the next meeting he [will] move that a black board be hung on the wall with the names of the affiliated societies on it.***

The Council adjourned a quarter to 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING*****

May 31

Members present: *Bora, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lullier, Maurice, Milner, Lucraft, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

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* See pp. 228-29 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Agossa.—*Ed.*
*** An inaccuracy. Reference is to the societies that have not paid their membership fees; see p. 234 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
**** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 71-72 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

A letter from the Curriers' Society announced that in consequence of the Irish resolution* passed by the Council, the Society felt bound to sever its connection, not having any faith in working men's societies that meddled with politics.

A letter from Hume, New York, announced that Gen. Cluseret proclaimed himself as representative of the Association and established sections.

Cit. *Jung* announced that Dupont was absent, his wife was dying and Serraillier was ill.

A letter from Paris complained that powers were given to men to establish sections outside the federation; there was no need for such powers now. The danger of entrusting individuals with such powers was seen by General Cluseret's proceedings at New York. The Central Committee would have protested against the assumption of representing the French workmen had they not heard that he had credentials from the Council. They would soon have a paper of their own. They did not believe that it would have been impossible to hold a Congress at Paris. Would have preferred Verviers.

Cit. *Jung* explained how the credentials were conferred on Gen. Cluseret, and if they had not been sent off when Victor Hugo's reply to a letter of his had been published, he should have objected.

The *Secretary* proposed that the secretaries be instructed to write to the correspondents abroad that General Cluseret was one of the New York correspondents of the Association with powers to establish sections.

Cit. *Hales* thought it required no special instruction.

Cit. *Milner* thought it might be agreed to; agreed accordingly.

A letter from Lyons required information respecting the necktie-weaving trade.

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* See p. 183 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Citizens Hales and Mottershead were appointed to furnish it.

A letter from Madrid stated that it [had] been rather delayed on account of the work of organisation. Required a list of English and American labour papers and advice on several questions relating to their national congress.[349]

Cit. *Hales* proposed that the letter be referred to the Sub-Committee to prepare an answer by next Tuesday.

Cit. *Jung* introduced Cit. Osborne Ward from America who had arrived at our conclusions and desired to become a member.

Cit. *Ward* made a few observations on what he had seen on his tour through Europe; he thought co-operation as at present carried on tended to create a co-operative bourgeoisie. The question of production and distribution was a political question, any person who did not labour for his living was either a beggar or a robber. The best sample of co-operation he had seen was at Barcelona.

Cit. *Jung* then introduced a delegate from the iron-founders of Paris now on strike.

Cit. *Hales* proposed that the Council should facilitate his introduction to the trade societies by appointing a deputation to accompany them.

Cit. *Jung* seconded.

Jung and Hales were appointed as the deputation.*

Cit. *Maurice* gave notice that he should move that a book be purchased to preserve copies of all letters going abroad.

Credentials voted to Hume of New York.**

The Council adjourned after 11 o'clock.

G. MILNER, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

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* See pp. 250, 264-65 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** This sentence was inserted later.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

June 7

Members present: *Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Milner, Rühl, Townshend, Serraillier, Murray.*

Cit. *Milner* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous [meeting] were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Dupont* stated that Agossa was very ill and advised to go to the South of France. He had sold some of his tools to raise money to go as far [as] Paris, and Cit. Dupont proposed that the Council should give him a letter of credit to borrow £1 at Paris.

Cit. *Jung* seconded the proposition which was agreed to.

Cit. *Harris* proved from American papers that the St. Crispins' were not a secret society and that they had been incorporated as an association by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts.

Cit. *Jung* reported that he had been to the iron-founders with the Paris delegates.** They had expressed great sympathy but were unable to assist. They had expended £129,000 for donations during the last three years part of which had been borrowed money. The donation had amounted to 2s. 5½d. a week for each member but they had not been able to levy it all. It was now gone down to one shilling a week. Mr. Guile had written a very long letter explaining the whole to the Parisian iron-founders and expressed himself to the effect that under different circumstances they would have considered it their duty to assist.

He had also waited on the engineers and had been well

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 72-73 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** See p. 249 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

received; it would be submitted to the vote of the Executive Council.

The Council adjourned at half past 10 o'clock.

GEO. E. HARRIS, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

June 14

Members present: *Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Townshend.*

Cit. *Harris* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* reported that Mr. Allan, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers, had sent a slip of his last monthly report in which the Council of that Association proposed a levy of 2d. throughout the Association for the iron-founders on strike in Paris, accompanied by lengthy remark in favour of the proposition. The slip was to be forwarded to the Committee of the Paris iron-founders.

Cit. *Dupont* stated that Agossa had declined availing himself of the credit voted by the Council on the plea that it might involve him in difficulties. Cit. Dupont thought it was pride.

The *Secretary* reported that he had received a parcel of the new paper of the Paris section, entitled the *Socialiste*. It was printed at Neuchâtel in Switzerland.[350]

Cit. *Jung* reported that he had received a telegram from Geneva stating that the master builders had resolved upon a general lock-out of the building trades and had carried their resolution into effect on Saturday last.

Two years ago a strike had occurred to reduce the

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 73-74 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

hours of labour to ten a day and fix the rate of wages per hour.[351] The Minister of Justice and Police* had then brought about an understanding that the men should work 9 hours a day in winter and 11 hours a day in summer. The next spring the masters had refused to pay more for eleven hours than they had done in winter for nine.** Another compromise had then been made fixing the wages at 45 cent. an hour. The plasterers had signed the agreement but had never been able to enforce the payment, in consequence of which they had lately struck. Upon that the masters had posted bills all over the town calling upon the federal government to expel the foreigners and to dissolve the Association and if the plasterers did not return to work on the 9th the building yards would be closed on the 11th, which had been done.

The watch trades had called a monster meeting at the federal palace where 5,000 workmen had attended and protested against the masters' proceedings.[352]

After some conversation *Jung* proposed that a summoned meeting should be held next Tuesday to decide what could be done.

Cit. *Dupont* seconded the proposition, which was unanimously agreed to.

Cit. *Serraillier* said he had received a letter from Barcelona; a large town meeting had been held which had adhered to the International. The congress would be held at Barcelona on the 19th. They wanted trade union rules. Bastelica had safely arrived at Barcelona.[353]

He then stated what the Sub-Committee had agreed to in answer to the former letter.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

Signed *THOMAS MOTTERSHEAD*, June 21st, 1870
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

* Camperio.—*Ed.*
** See p. 370 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

June 21

Members present: *Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Bradnick, Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lullier, Milner, Mottershead, Murray, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Schmutz.***

Delegates were also present from the Bricklayers and Alliance Cabinet-Makers.

Cit. *Mottershead* was unanimously voted in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Serraillier* announced the receipt of a letter from Brussels containing a post-office order for 200 francs on account of contributions, and two questions for the next Congress.

Cit. *Jung* announced the receipt of a letter from Antwerp, stating that our friends in Holland were dissatisfied because our official documents were not signed by the Dutch Secretary. Someone from Rotterdam would apply for credentials to form a section there***; he was well known and could be trusted but it ought to be made a condition that he should enter into correspondence with Amsterdam. Varlin, it was stated, is at work at Antwerp but does not seem very happy, the Flemish are rather a dull race. The writer desired to have an English paper in exchange for the *Werker*.

As there is no English paper on the recommendation of which the Council could agree the question was postponed.

Cit. *Jung* then entered upon a statement concerning the lock-out of Geneva.**** Having briefly recapitulated the facts that led to the lock-out, he added that since the lock-

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 75-76 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Schmutz's name was inserted later.—*Ed.*

*** Apparently Phillipp von Roesgen von Floss.—*Ed.*

**** See p. 251 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

out the Minister of Justice and Police M. Camperio had been asked by three members of the Great Council what he thought of doing and he had replied he should respect the freedom of labour.

A committee had been formed for the support of the locked out consisting of members of other trades, but those locked out could attend. The master builders had assaulted the men and were picketing each others' shops to prevent work being done.

Some of the proprietors who had contracted for buildings with the master builders had invited the men to come to work as usual, which was being done. He thought that the position of trade societies was not sufficiently prosperous to warrant success if an appeal was made; and if it did not succeed it would leave a bad impression; yet as the Genevese had always done their duty something ought to be done.

The *Chairman* observed that the Council would neglect its duty if it did not appeal.

Cit. *Harris* said he was not a trade unionist but he thought an address to the trade societies of England was the least the Council could do. He proposed that an address to the organised trades appealing for help be issued.

Mr. *Sarrel,* the delegate of the Bricklayers' Council, seconded the proposition.

Cit. *Weston* thought that strikes and lock-outs hampered the action of the Council but as it formed a connecting link between the trade societies of various countries he could not see anything else to be done but to give the proposition his hearty support.

The *Chairman* stated that the Council did not provoke or order* strikes and lock-outs but when they occurred it must do its duty. It was the first time that the English system of locking-out was being tried on the Continent. The London builders had gained nothing by it.

* The words "or order" were inserted later.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Jung* desired that the proposition should be enlarged so as to include the trade societies and branches of the Association on the Continent of Europe and of the United States.

This was unanimously agreed to.

Upon the suggestion of the *Chairman* Cit. Weston proposed that Cit. Marx be appointed to draw up the address.*

Cit. *Lessner* seconded.

Carried unanimously.

Cit. *Lullier* gave notice that within a fortnight he would move the consideration of propositions for carrying on the struggle against capital without the means of strikes.

Upon the proposition of the *Secretary* it was agreed to pay Mr. Cottam the balance of £6 due for printing cards.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H. JUNG, Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING***

June 28

Members present: *Applegarth, Bora, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Lullier, Serraillier, Stepney, Weston.*

Cit. *Jung* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced the receipt of a letter from Germany stating that the Marble Hall of Mayence was promised by the burgomaster for the meeting of the Congress.[354]

* See pp. 369-71 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 77-78 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

A letter from the German Labour Union of New York urged the desirability of sending a delegate to the American Labour Congress.[355]

Cit. Marx was instructed to reply that our means would not admit it.

Application was also made for cards, of which 200 were forwarded.

Cit. *Dupont* announced that regional Congress of Rouen had been suppressed.

Cit. *Serraillier* announced that the Spanish Congress had adopted an address to the General Council. They accept the Statutes etc. and congratulate the Council.[356]

A letter from Geneva asked the Council to come to a decision as soon as possible.[357]

Cit. *Marx* thought the only thing the Council could do was to leave the Geneva Committee* that had helped from the foundation of the Association as it was. It had fulfilled its duty in every respect and had had a larger constituency though fewer delegates than [the] other party at the Swiss Congress. The vote admitting the Alliance should also be communicated.[358] The new committee could choose some local name.

Cit. *Weston* said if they advised abstention from politics and acted upon that [it] would disqualify them from acting as administrators. The Alliance was only tolerated on condition of conforming to the Rules.

The proposition was seconded by *Applegarth* and carried unanimously.

Cit. *Marx* proposed that the General Council be transferred from London to Brussels. We must not let it crop up as a privilege that the Council sits in London. The Congress may not accept the proposition, then we can put conditions.

Cit. *Lucraft* seconded; many continentals fancied we

* The Federal Council of the Romance Switzerland.—*Ed.*

took too much upon ourselves. The Congress would have to pronounce upon it.

Cit. *Harris* wanted to know whether we had an English section.

Cit. *Dupont* was in favour.

Cit. *Applegarth* said all the old members knew we had no British section.

Cit. *Lullier* wanted to know why Brussels was not chosen.

He was informed that Belgium and Switzerland were the only countries on the Continent where the Association legally existed.

Cit. *Milner* would support the proposition with joy because on the Continent they would drive the question home; he knew the shams of this country.

Cit. *Weston* was generally in favour. If we were shams it was because we had had no means.

Cit. *Hales* moved the adjournment of the question.

Cit. *Dupont* was against the adjournment.

Cit. *Hales* moved as an amendment that this Council should ask the next Congress to consider the advisability of removing the Council from London.

Cit. *Dupont* [said] that it would only cause muddling. The Council could neither sit in France nor Germany and a place must be proposed from here.

Cit. *Marx* said the Council was so well thought of that it had been reappointed four times. He proposed that the resolutions be sent to all the sections.

Cit. *Hales* proposed to send them out with the Congress programme.

The original proposition was carried.

Cit. *Hales* gave notice of motion to reconsider the question.

Stoll proposed by *Dupont*, seconded by *Serraillier*.

B. LUCRAFT

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*COUNCIL MEETING**

July 5

Members present: *Bora, Bradnick,*** *Cohn, Dupont, Eccarius, Hales J., Hales W., Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Murray, Stepney, Serraillier, Townshend, Weston.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. *Marx* announced the receipt of a report from the Executive of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany but had not had any time yet to read it to see what it contained. He would translate the essential parts of it for the next meeting.

Cit. *Dupont* had received a letter from Bastelica in Spain who stated that a report of the Spanish Congress[359] had been sent to the Council but none had arrived yet. Madrid had been selected as the seat of the Spanish Council, the six delegates who had been at Barcelona to form the Council.

The Parisians expected that the Council would refute the false statements of Aulois, the public prosecutor.[360]

Cit. *Marx* said before that could be done they must send the act of accusation; it could not be done by going by newspaper reports.

Cit. *Dupont* proposed that he be instructed by a formal resolution to request the Paris section to send the act of accusation. He said he [had] written also for other things but [had] not received anything.

The proposition was agreed to.

Cit. *Jung* said, according to the Geneva Strike Bulletin, the middle classes generally were dissatisfied with the conduct of the master builders. Some manufacturers had

* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 79-82 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Bradnick's name was inserted later.—*Ed.*

endeavoured to bring about a settlement but to no purpose; the master builders would not listen to anything. The Union doctor had made the society a present of what they owed him.

A letter was then read from Cit. Hume of New York accepting the credentials, stating that he would have cards of membership printed and apply to the Union officers to establish sections within their respective societies, and asked whether he was right in thinking* that he could delegate the power of doing so to these officers.

The *Secretary* proposed that this power be conceded.

Cit. *Cohn* agreed to the proposition.

Cit. *J. Hales* thought there would be no limit if subdelegation was once allowed.

The *Chairman* said in countries where the Association was established such powers were not needed because the newly established societies could be affiliated. But in America we had nothing at present. As soon as a section was formed they would appoint their own officers.

Cit. *Marx* said that Cluseret was now only the correspondent of the New York French section.

Cit. *Milner* said Hume would only bring about affiliations in the regular way if the societies of New York were with [him]. He only proposed to carry out what we wanted.

Cit. *Hales* was afraid it would split up the Association into a number of wings. A resolution had been passed with regard to France that any society appointing a correspondent should be considered affiliated.** If Hume was allowed to delegate power to one man it could not be refused to another and no one could foresee what that might lead to.

The *Secretary* stated he had no fear of that. He had told Hume distinctly in the letter accompanying the

* The words "was right in thinking" were inserted after the original words had been erased.—*Ed.*

** See p. 205 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

credentials that his occupation as agent of the Council would be gone as soon [as] the members he might enlist formed themselves into a society. They would then have [to] appoint their own correspondent and if they appointed he would no longer be the correspondent of the Council but the correspondent of the section with the Council.

Cit. *Marx* said he could only proceed according to the Rules; we wanted such a man.

Cit. *Hales* proposed that Hume be requested to establish an American section as soon as possible.

Cit. *Murray* seconded.

The *Secretary* objected that that was what he had the credentials for. Cit. Hales's resolution could only hamper him. As the matter now stood, he could organise a section in one place and bring [it] in communication with the Council and then proceed to another.

Cit. *Jung* suggested that the Secretary draw up an answer in the sense of the Council and submit it next week, and the whole policy of nominations and credentials might be discussed.

Milner proposed as an amendment to Cit. Hales's proposition that the letter be endorsed.

Cit. *Jung* seconded. Our Continental correspondents had never sub-delegated but they had sometimes recommended men to be delegated by the Council.

Cit. *Murray* said the Council ought [to] be cautious in delegating power; they might delegate power to *mouchards*.

Marx was for the amendment qualified by the Rules and this question might be decided now that the Secretary knew in what spirit to write.

Nine voted for, five against the amendment. Carried.

Upon the proposition of Cit. *Cohn*, seconded by Cit. *Murray*, the Secretary was authorised to get 500 lock-out circulars printed.*

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* See pp. 369-71 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Hales* then reopened the question of the removal of the Council. He had no objection to the resolution but the seat of the Council was an important matter. He proposed that while the Council was of opinion that the Congress should consider the removal of the Council, it was also of opinion that it must not lose sight of the fact that a cosmopolitan composition is necessary. A simple national section would always be national in its views. It could not do what was required. If the various nationalities were represented at Brussels like they were in London he would agree.

W. Hales seconded.

Cit. *Jung* moved the order of the day.

Cit. *Milner* seconded the order of the day. He was ashamed that the English section had done so little, he would be glad if a better place could be found for the Council.

Cit. *Murray* did not wish the Council to leave London, he did [not] think it would have the same influence elsewhere.

Cit. *Marx* had no objection to an adjournment to consider the question fully. If the resolution of Hales was adopted it would amount to considering the question of removing the Council and telling the Congress that London was the only place where it could sit.

Cit. *Cohn* said it could not be reconsidered without rescinding the resolution.

It was then agreed that the question should be adjourned till the next meeting.

Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

*MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

July 12

Members present: *Applegarth, Bora, Eccarius, Hales John, Hales W., Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Milner, Murray, Serraillier, Stepney, Stoll, Townshend, Weston, Zabicki.*

Cit. *Lucraft* in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read over a list of addresses to which the lock-out circular had been sent.

Cit. *Harris* suggested that communications be sent to the Boston journal** and that the Plasterers' Society, King's Arms, Aldersgate Street, be communicated with.

Le Maître having just arrived from Paris had brought a written document for Dupont but as he had left London[361] it was deposited with the Council. He regretted very much that there should exist a difference between the Council and the French branch.[362] He had been at the trial at Paris and several of the accused had considered it very unfortunate that hostile declarations should be made and published at a time when the utmost unanimity was necessary. He considered the differences only personal. It was the desire of the Paris federation*** that some agreement should be come to and he should be glad if he could assist in bringing [it] about.

Cit. *Marx* did not think it right that the Paris federation should make such a proposition. The Council would lay all the acts relating to the affair before the Congress but could not enter upon a consideration now.

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* The Minutes are in Eccarius's hand on pp. 82-88 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** This apparently refers to the newspaper *Weekly American Workman.*—*Ed.*

*** The original version was "Parisians"; this was changed to "Paris federation".—*Ed.*

The *Chairman* thought the regular business should be proceeded with.

Cit. *Milner* wished that the spirit of the communication should be accepted.

Cit. *Applegarth* said, having given a courteous hearing to the suggestion and having our own* notions about the difference that existed, the Council should pass to the regular business and consider the matter in due time.

Le Maître. The Parisians could not send a delegate every day; he wanted to know if he was to take an answer back to Paris now or whether it would be considered at a future meeting and an answer sent to Paris. He had not come as a delegate but only on behalf of a few friends. He had no credentials, there was no chance of doing things in a regular formal way.

Cit. *Jung* had received a letter for Dupont from the Tin-Plate Workers; there was no difficulty that would have prevented credentials being given.

Cit. *Marx* said the Council could not accept propositions of that kind from a delegate that had no credentials.

Cit. *J. Hales* saw no reason to wait for credentials from anyone that was known. He proposed that the statement be received, considered and an answer returned.

Cit. *Harris* seconded. The Parisians had been at the expense of sending a delegate and they had a right to be heard and their proposition considered.

Cit. *Serraillier* said most of the accused had repudiated the proceedings of the French branch; he was in favour of laying the matter before the Congress. The resolution concerning the French branch** had been published to exonerate our men. He did not believe that the Paris federation had anything to do with this, it was only a few friends.

Cit. *Jung* said in the first place Le Maître was only a member of the French branch, not a member of the

* The word "own" was inserted later.—*Ed.*

** See p. 236 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Association. Some of the younger members, who knew nothing about its doings, might be in favour of the French branch but the old members were against it. If the Council was obliged to entertain questions brought on by members of the French branch someone might come every week with a statement and the Council had to accept it. The difference between the Council and the French branch was not simply a difference of opinion, it was a difference of principles and mode of action. The old Paris members thought that the Council had been far too indulgent towards the French branch.

Cit. *Marx* said the only party the Council had to deal with was the Paris federation. The best thing that could be done was to write to Paris to ask if they were dissatisfied with the conduct of the Council towards the French branch and if they required explanations they should be sent.

Cit. *Hales* did not want it to be understood that [he] agreed with the doings of the French but we might deplore the split and entertain a proposition to bring about an agreement.

It was decided against two that the Paris federation should be written to.

FRENCH CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from the Positivists,* conveyed by Congreve, stated that the disgraceful prosecutions were the cause of the delay and made the union all the more needful. They considered it a noble thing that the International admitted societies who were working for the common end although differing somewhat in principle. They had sent their contribution.

The tin-plate workers of Paris announced in a letter

* Reference is to the Prolétaires Positivistes Society. See pp. 210, 217-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

that they had held a general meeting and appointed a delegate to the Congress. It was a protest against the government.

Cit. *Jung* announced that the loan voted by the Amalgamated Engineers to Paris ironmoulders* had been voted by the greatest majority they had ever had. But there was some hesitation about the manner in which the money should be sent.

Cit. *Applegarth* said there was a danger of sending such a large amount of money because the eyes of the police were on everyone connected with the affair. He had consulted some friends who agreed that it was advisable for someone to carry the money over to Paris, it would cost very little more and make an immense impression, and he thought the engineers would do it if it were recommended by this Council. He proposed the following resolution:

"That the General Council cordially acknowledges the handsome grant for the ironmoulders of Paris, and, considering the unsettled state of affairs in Paris and the risk there is of the money falling into wrong hands if sent in the ordinary way, we suggest the propriety of the General Secretary of the Engineers being deputed to take the money and deliver it into the hands of the responsible officers of the Paris ironmoulders. This step in addition to ensuring the safe delivery of the money would have a great moral effect with regard to the settlement of the dispute."

He further proposed that a deputation be sent to the Council of the Engineers with the above recommendation and that the deputation be instructed to invite the engineers to join and send a delegate to the next Congress.

Cit. *Weston* seconded the proposition. Carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* proposed that Applegarth and Jung form the deputation. Agreed.

* See pp. 249, 251 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The adjourned question of considering the removal of the Council was then resumed.

Cit. *Milner* did not consider the work to have been done as it ought to be and would be glad if others had a chance of doing it better.

Cit. *Marx* would state for the information of those who had not been present what the question under consideration was. It had been proposed to write to the sections to ask them to consider the advisability of removing the Council from London. If they were favourable to a removal then Brussels should be proposed. That proposition had [been] passed, but Cit. Hales had objected and as no instruction had been given to the secretaries the vote had not been communicated. Cit. Hales thought the question had not been sufficiently considered and wished to give it another form. The election of the Council always came on at the last moment at the Congress and a proposition to remove it would appear to some like a vote of censure. It ought therefore to be discussed beforehand at the suggestion of the Council.*

Cit. *Hales* thought Marx was under a wrong impression. He did not want the resolution rescinded or altered in any shape but qualified by a declaration. He objected to Milner's view that the Council had not done its work well, it was not for the members to pass an opinion on their doings, it was for others to decide. He would now propose that, while this Council deemed it necessary that the sections should fully discuss the advisability of removing the Council, care should be taken that the Council should be of a cosmopolitan character. This ought to be above all clear: that the governing Council should be international because we wanted to create an international feeling. At no other place where he had been, were questions discussed as they were at this Council, with such a variety of

* The end of Marx's speech beginning "The election of the Council. . ." was inserted later.—*Ed.*

opinion and so much light thrown on them. The Council must be cosmopolitan. He knew that Brussels was a large city and all the elements required might be there. He desired that the Council should recommend the discussion, but also to give a caution.

The policy of his motion differed in character from the one adopted, which was to be sent to the sections to be discussed beforehand, to come prepared to the Congress.* He did not object to that but he did not wish to have his sent beforehand. He did not even desire that it should be read at the Congress; it might be made an instruction to the delegates. He did not want to be invidious, but it must be emphatically declared that no national spirit could rule. However much opinions might vary on the Council Board they had always agreed to the mode of action, and if his proposition was not carried he should offer no opposition to that of Marx.

The *Chairman* said we all agree that the Council should be cosmopolitan and all agree that the sections should be invited to discuss the question. We can therefore decide. Cit. Hales's is simply an expression of opinion.

The *Secretary* said that the present motion of Cit. Hales was considerably modified. The sections were to discuss the question, that could only be done before the Congress, it could not be done at the Congress. The other part was provided for by the Rules. It was there laid down that the Council should be composed of working men belonging to the different nationalities that were represented in the Association.[363] It required no special injunction: the Rules were as explicit as possible and it must be taken for granted that the sections were acquainted with the Rules.

Cit. *Jung* was more opposed to an expression of opinion than to a positive resolution. To decide that the removal of the Council should be discussed and then tell the

* See pp. 256-57 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Congress that it must choose such and such a place, was an instruction he should be ashamed to go to the Congress with as a recommendation.

Cit. *Marx* stated that the first International Association had been established at Brussels; the Fraternal Democrats of London had been a branch of it.[364]

The proposition was then put to the vote; only three voted for it.

The *Secretary* then brought up the report of the Congress Sub-Committee on the Congress programme.

The Sub-Committee proposed:

I. Practical ways and means of converting land into common property. The Belgian proposition to establish sections among the rural labourers and bring them into connection with the working men of the town to be treated as a sub-question under this head.

II. On the connection between the political action and the social movement of the working class.[365]

III. Abolition of the public debts with an equitable compensation.

IV. Conversion of all note-issuing banks into national banks.

V. On the conditions of co-operative production on a national scale.

VI. The necessity of carrying out the resolution of the Geneva Congress of 1866 respecting the statistics of labour.*

The *Chairman* asked why the Representation of Labour Question had been abandoned.

Cit. *Marx:* that would only have been an English question. Only in England the political question of the working class is parliamentary representative. There are different ways of considering the political labour movement and we must have a comprehensive form to include them.

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* See pp. 285-86 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Cit. *Harris* asked whether the Banking resolution implied the question of Credit.

Cit. *Milner:* the question could not be put differently to make it international.

Cit. *Marx* said the English Bank Act[366] did not exist on the Continent. In Germany they had a paper currency as low as notes of three shillings.

Cit. *Harris:* banking is the natural result of Credit which is the mother of banking.

The *Secretary* then proposed the programme on behalf of the Sub-Committee.

The first question could not be negatived because it had been decided by the last Congress to be considered by the next. Agreed.

Upon the second question Cit. *Hales* remarked that it opened too much. It would open a discussion on the theories of political action. He would therefore propose a substitute to the following effect: "The best political action to be taken by the working classes." This would pledge the Association to something.

The proposition, not being seconded, fell to the ground and the proposition of the Sub-Committee was agreed to.

III, IV, V and VI were carried without any observations.

Cit. *Hales* then proposed as a seventh question a declaration against war, seconded by Cit. *Weston,* supported by Cit. *Murray.*

Cit. *Jung* thought it useless to reiterate that declaration, it had been made at several congresses; the only proposition that could be made as a sequence of former resolutions would be the practical means of abolishing standing armies. Middle-class congresses had declared against war but they voted money to keep up standing armies to keep the work-people down.

Cit. *Hales* said he would take Jung's advice and alter his proposition to "The best means of abolishing standing armies and prevent war."

Cit. *Marx* said he was in favour of the Council making a declaration against war in case it should break out.

The *Chairman* ruled that not belonging to question before him but was in favour of it. He differed with Cit. Jung; he did not care how many times the declaration against war was repeated.

The question was then put to the vote.

Seven voted for and seven voted against it.

The *Chairman* gave the casting vote in favour.*

The Council adjourned at a quarter past 11 o'clock.

B. LUCRAFT
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Secretary

* See p. 374 of the present volume, Point 7.—*Ed.*

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL MARX

KARL MARX

REMARKS TO THE PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY*[367]

[PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE ALLIANCE]

La minorité socialiste de la Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté s'étant séparée de cette ligue à la suite du vote de la majorité du Congrès de Berne, qui s'est formellement prononcée contre le principe fondamental de toutes les associations ouvrières;—celui de *l'égalité économique et sociale des classes et des individus* a, par là même, adhéré aux principes proclamés par les *Congrès des Travailleurs* tenus à Genève, à Lausanne et à Bruxelles. Plusieurs membres de cette minorité, appartenant à différentes nations, nous ont proposé d'organiser une nouvelle *Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, fondue entièrement dans la grande *Association internationale des Travailleurs*; mais se donnant pour mission spéciale d'étudier les questions politiques et philosophiques sur la base même de ce grand principe de l'égalité universelle et réelle de tous les êtres humains sur la terre.

Convaincus, de notre côté, de l'utilité d'une pareille entreprise, qui donnera aux démocrates socialistes sincères de l'Europe et de l'Amérique le moyen de s'entendre et

[MARX'S REMARKS]

l'égalité des classes !

fondue dans, et fondée contre!

Ainsi, les démocrates socialistes ne s'entendent pas

* See Appendix, pp. 379-83.—*Ed.*

d'affirmer leurs idées, en dehors de toute pression de la part de ce faux socialisme que la démocratie bourgeoise trouva utile d'afficher aujourd'hui, nous avons cru devoir prendre, de concert avec ces amis, l'initiative de cette **nouvelle*** organisation.

Par conséquent, **nous nous sommes constitués en section centrale** de *l'Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, et nous en publions aujourd'hui le *Programme* et le *Règlement*.

par le moyen de l'Internationale

Quelle modestie ! Ils se sont constitué autorité centrale, ces braves !

PROGRAMME
DE L'ALLIANCE INTERNATIONALE DE LA DÉMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE

1) L'*Alliance* se déclare athée; elle veut l'abolition des cultes, la substitution de la science à la foi et de la justice humaine à la justice divine.

2) Elle veut avant tout l'égalisation politique, économique et sociale des classes et des individus **des deux sexes**, en commençant par l'**abolition du droit de l'héritage**, afin qu'à l'avenir la jouissance soit égale à la production de chacun, et que, conformément à la décision prise par le dernier congrès des ouvriers à Bruxelles, la terre, les instruments de travail, comme tout autre capital, devenant la propriété collective de la société tout entière, ne puissent être utilisés que par les travailleurs, c'est-à-dire par les associations agricoles et industrielles.

3) Elle veut pour tous les enfants des deux sexes, dès leur naissance à la vie, l'égalité des moyens de développement, c'est-à-dire d'entretien, d'éducation et d'instruction à tous les degrés de la science, de l'industrie et des arts, convaincue que cette égalité, d'abord seulement économique et sociale, aura pour résultat d'amener de plus en plus une plus grande égalité naturelle des

Comme si on pouvait déclarer- par décret du foi- l'abolition de la foi! L'homme hermaphrodite ! C'est comme la **commune russe !** Vieille panacée St. Simonienne !

Phrase !

* Words in bold type have been underlined by Marx.—*Ed.*

individus, en faisant disparaître toutes les inégalités factices, produits historiques d'une organisation sociale aussi fausse qu'inique.

4) Ennemie de tout despotisme, ne reconnaissant d'autre forme politique que la forme républicaine, et rejetant absolument toute alliance réactionnaire, elle repousse aussi toute action politique qui n'aurait point pour but **immédiat et direct** le triomphe de la cause des travailleurs contre le Capital.

5) Elle reconnaît que tous les Etats politiques et autoritaires actuellement existant, se réduisant de plus en plus aux simples fonctions administratives des services publics dans leurs pays respectifs, devront disparaître dans l'union universelle des libres Associations, tant agricoles qu'industrielles.

S'ils se **réduisent** par eux-mêmes, ils **ne devront pas** disparaître, mais ils disparaîtront spontanément.

6) La question sociale ne pouvant trouver sa solution définitive et réelle que sur la base de la solidarité internationale ou universelle des travailleurs de tous les pays, l'*Alliance* repousse toute politique fondée sur le soi-disant patriotisme et sur la rivalité des nations.

Il y a rivalité et rivalité, mon cher Russe !

7) Elle veut l'Association universelle de toutes les Associations locales par la Liberté.

RÈGLEMENT

1) L'*Alliance internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste* se constitue en une **branche de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs,** dont elle accepte tous les statuts généraux.

L'Association internationale n'admet pas des « branches **internationales** ».

2) Les *Membres fondateurs de* l'*Alliance* organisent provisoirement un *Bureau central* à Genève.

Nouveau conseil central !

3) Les membres fondateurs appartenant à un même pays constituent le *Bureau national* de ce pays.

4) Les Bureaux nationaux ont pour mission d'établir, dans toutes les localités, des

groupes locaux de l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste, qui, par l'intermédiaire de leurs Bureaux nationaux respectifs, demanderont au Bureau central de l'Alliance leur admission dans l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs.*

Les statuts de l'Internationale ne reconnaissent pas ce « pouvoir médiateur ».

5) Tous les groupes locaux formeront leurs Bureaux selon la coutume adoptée par les Sections locales de l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs.*

6) Tous les Membres de l'*Alliance* s'engagent à payer une cotisation de *dix centimes* par mois, dont la moitié sera retenue pour ses propres besoins par chaque groupe national, et l'autre moitié sera versée dans la caisse du Bureau central, pour ses besoins généraux.

Nouvelles Taxes absorbant nos contributions à nous !

Dans les pays où ce chiffre serait jugé trop élevé, les Bureaux nationaux, de concert avec le Bureau central, pourront le réduire.

7) Au Congrès annuel des Travailleurs, *la Délégation de l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste,* comme branche de l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs,* tiendra ses séances publiques dans un local séparé.

Ils veulent, sous notre patronage, nous compromettre !

LES MEMBRES DU GROUPE INITIATEUR DE GENÈVE:

J. Philippe Becker. — M. Bakounine. — Th. Rémy. — Antoine Lindegger. — Louis Nidegger. — Valérien Mroczkowsky. — Jean Zagorsky. — Phil. Zöller. — A. Ardin. — Ch. Perron. — J. Gay. — J. Friess. — Fr. Rochat. — Nicolas Joukowski. — M. Elpidine. — Zampérini. — E. Becker. — Louis Weiss. — Perret. — Marauda. — Edouard Crosset. — A. Blanchard. — A. Matis. — Ch. Raymond. — Mme Alexeieff*. — Mme Bakounine. — Mme Suzette

Asinus Asinorum ! et Madame Bakounine !

* Barteneva.—*Ed.*

Croset. — Mme Rosalie Sanguinède. — Mme Désirée Gay. — Mme Jenny Guinet. — Antoine Dunaud. — J. Maulet. — Guerry. — Jacques Courtois. — John Potot. — André Bel. — Fr. Bofféty. — Ch. Guyot. — Ch. Postleb. — Ch. Détraz. — J. Croset. — J. Sanguinède. — C. Jaclard. — L. Coulin. — Fr. Gay. — Blaise Rossety. — Jos. Marilly. — C. Brechtel. — L. Monachon. — Fr. Mermillod. — Donat-père. — L. J. Cheneval. — J. Bédeau. — L. H. Fornachon. — Pinière. — Ch. Grange. — Jacques Laplace. — S. Pellaton. — W. Rau. — Gottlob Walter. — Adolphe Haeberling. — Perrié. — Adolphe Catalan. — Marc Héridier. — Louis Allement. — A. Pellergin-Druart. — Louis de Coppet. — Louis Dupraz. — Guillmeaux. — Joseph Baquet. — Fr. Pisteur. — Ch. Ruchet. — Placide Margarittaz. — Paul Garbani. — Etienne Borret. — J. J. Scopini. — F. Crochet. — Jean Jost. — Léopold Wucher. — G. Filliétaz. — L. Fulliquet. — Ami Gandillon. — V. Alexeieff*. — François Chevallier.

Jules Johannard. Eugène Dupont**

Les Membres fondateurs de l'*Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, ayant décidé de fonder un Journal sous le titre "LA RÉVOLUTION", pour servir d'organe à cette nouvelle Association, le *Bureau central provisoire* commencera à faire paraître ce Journal aussitôt que trois cents actions, de dix francs chacune, et payables par quarts, chaque trimestre, à partir du 1er Janvier 1869, auront été souscrites. En conséquence, le *Bureau central provisoire* fait appel à tous les *Bureaux nationaux* de l'*Alliance*, en les invitant d'ouvrir les souscriptions dans leurs pays. Comme ces actions souscrites sont considérées comme des dons volontaires, qui ne donnent pas droit à

et ils ont eu l'impudence d'annoncer en Suisse que je contribuerais des articles à la **« Révolution »**,[368] sans m'avoir averti !

* Bartenev.—*Ed.*

** The names Johannard and Dupont are written in Jung's hand.—*Ed.*

l'abonnement, les *Bureaux nationaux* sont en même temps priés de faire des listes d'abonnement.

Le journal paraîtra une fois chaque semaine.

Prix de l'abonnement:

Un an	6 fr.
Six mois	3 fr. 50

Au nom du *Bureau central provisoire*:

Le Secrétaire,
JEAN ZAGORSKI
rue Montbrillant, 8.

N. B. Les *Bureaux nationaux* sont priés de faire parvenir au *Bureau central* le montant des souscriptions et des abonnements recueillis, avant le 1er Janvier.

Remarks made by Karl Marx on December 15, 1868

Published according to the original

DOCUMENTS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND ENGLISH WORKING MEN'S ORGANISATIONS*[369]

Der außergewöhnliche Ernst, womit die englische und speziell die Londoner Presse die *Internationale Arbeiterassoziation* und ihren *Brüsseler Kongreß* behandelt (die „Times" allein hat darüber 4 Leitartikel gebracht), rief einen wahren Veitstanz in der deutschen Bourgeoispresse hervor. Sie, die deutsche Presse, belehrt die englische Presse über deren Irrtum, an die Bedeutung der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation in England zu glauben! Sie entdeckt, daß die englischen Trades Unions, welche vermittelst der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation den Pariser, Genfer und belgischen Arbeitern bedeutende Geldunterstützungen im Kampf gegen das Kapital zuschickten, ganz und gar *nicht* in Verbindung stehn mit derselben Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation!

„Angeblich stützt sich all das", schreibt man uns aus London, „auf die Versicherung eines gewissen *M. Hirsch***, den Schulze-Delitzsch eigens zum Behuf solchen Skandals nach England schickte. *M. Hirsch* sagt's und *M. Hirsch* ist ein ehrenwerter Mann! Ehren-Hirsch flüßte den Unionisten (Mitgliedern der Trades Unions, Gewerksgenossenschaften)

* See Appendix, pp. 384-86.—*Ed.*

** Dr. *Max Hirsch*, der „berühmte" Nationalökonom der Dunckerschen „Volks-Zeitung", ist damit gemeint. In London scheint man vor seiner Entdeckungsreise in die ihm unbekannten Regionen Englands keine Ahnung von der Existenz dieses neuesten Gesellschaftsretters gehabt zu haben.

in London Verdacht ein, weil [er] *kein* Einführungsschreiben von seiten der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation besaß. Er wurde einfach *gefoppt*. Kein Wunder daher, daß der Hirsch Böcke schießt! Hätte man ihn auch nur ernsthaft genommen, so konnte man ihm ohne besondere Vertrauensgeneigtheit mitteilen, was alle Welt in London weiß, nämlich daß der Allgemeine Rat der Trades Unions, der zu London residiert, aus 6 bis 7 Personen besteht, wovon drei, *Odger* (Sekretär des Allgemeinen Rats und Delegierter der Schuhmacher), *R. Applegarth* (Delegierter der vereinigten Zimmerleute und Tischler) und *Howell* (Delegierter der Maurer und Sekretär der Reformligue) zugleich Mitglieder des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation sind. Er hätte ferner erfahren, daß die übrigen affiliierten Trades Unions (in London allein ungefähr 50, abgesehen von den provinzialen Trades Unions) durch weitere *fünf Mitglieder*, nämlich durch *R. Shaw, Buckley, Cohn, Hales* und *Maurice*, im Generalrat der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vertreten sind, außerdem aber jede Union das Recht und die Gewohnheit hat, für besondere Angelegenheiten Delegierte an den Generalrat zu schicken. Es sind ferner von englischer Seite im Generalrat der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vertreten:

Kooperativgesellschaften, welche 3 Delegierte zum Brüsseler Kongreß schickten, durch *Wlm. Weston** und *Williams;*

die *Reformligue* durch *Dell, Cowell Stepney* und *Lucraft*, alle drei auch Mitglieder der Exekutivkommission der Reformligue;

die *National-Reform-Assoziation*, eine Stiftung des verstorbenen Agitators Bronterre O'Brien, durch ihren Präsidenten *A. A. Walton* und *Milner;*

endlich die *atheistische* Volksagitation durch ihre berühmte Rednerin *Mrs. Harriet Law* und Herrn *Copeland.*

* John Weston is more likely the man meant here.—*Ed.*

Man sieht, es existiert keine irgendwie bedeutende Bewegunspartei des britischen Proletariats, die nicht direkt, durch ihre eigenen Führer, im Schoße des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation vertreten wäre. Endlich ist der ‚Bee-Hive' unter *George Potters* Leitung, das offizielle Organ der englischen Trades' Unions, zugleich das offizielle Organ des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, über dessen Sitzungen er wöchentlich Bericht abstattet.

Die Entdeckungen von Ehren-Hirsch und die darauf folgenden Jubelauslassungen der deutschen Bourgeoispresse lieferten ihrerseits erwünschtes Futter für den Londoner Korrespondenten der ‚Weser-Zeitung' und den Londoner Korrespondenten △ der ‚Augsburgerin*'. Diese Person — das doppelte Geschäft wird nämlich von einer und derselben Person verrichtet — haust aus ihr selbst am besten bekannten Gründen mehrere Stunden von London entfernt in einem abgelegenen Winkel. Hier macht sie ihre verschämten Auszüge aus ‚Times', ‚Morning Star' und ‚Saturday Review' mit einer ästhetischen Fischsauce für den Geschmack ihres Publikums zurecht. Von Zeit zu Zeit, wie im vorliegenden Fall, kaut sie auch den Kohl der deutschen Zeitungen unter dem falschen Datum in der ‚Weser-Zeitung' und ‚Augsburgerin' wieder. Besagter Korrespondent der ‚Weser-Zeitung' und ‚Augsburgerin' ist niemand anders als der berüchtigte literarische Lumpenproletarier— *Elard Biscamp*. Seit lange von jedem anständigen Umgang ausgeschlossen, sucht der Unglückliche in gebranntem Wasser Stillung der Herzwunden, die Preußen ihm schlug durch die Annexion seines Vaterlandes Kurhessen und seines Freundes *Edgar Bauer*."

Written by Karl Marx on October 4, 1868

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Published according to the newspaper text

* Reference is to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—Ed.

RESOLUTIONS
OF THE
FIRST AND THIRD CONGRESSES
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[370]

I

RESOLUTIONS OF FIRST CONGRESS ASSEMBLED AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER, 1866

As some of the resolutions passed at the first Congress may be considered as part of the platform of principles of the International Working Men's Association, and the reports of that Congress have had but a limited circulation, the General Council deems it advisable to republish them with the issue of the resolutions passed at the last Congress.

Amongst the various subjects that came under the consideration of the first—the Geneva Congress—the following are the most important:

1. International Combination of Efforts, by the Agency of the Association, in the Struggle Between Labour and Capital

(*a*) From a general point of view, this question embraces the whole activity of the International Association, which aims at combining and generalising the till now disconnected efforts for emancipation by the working classes in different countries.

(*b*) To counteract the intrigues of capitalists always ready, in cases of strikes and lock-outs, to misuse the workman of one country as a tool against the workman of another, is one of the particular functions which our society has hitherto performed with success. It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only feel but act as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation.

(*c*) One great "International combination of efforts" will be a statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all civilised countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves. To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the working men will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands.

The Congress therefore proposes that in each locality where branches of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry; the Congress invites the working men of Europe and the United States of America to co-operate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; reports and evidence to be forwarded to the Central Council. The Central Council shall elaborate them into a general report, adding the evidence as an appendix. This report, together with its appendix, shall be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction, be printed at the expense of the Association.

General scheme of inquiry, which may of course be modified by each locality: 1. Industry, name of. 2. Age and sex of the employed. 3. Number of the employed. 4. Salaries and wages: (*a*) apprentices; (*b*) wages by the day or by piece work; scale paid by middle men. Weekly, yearly average. 5. (*a*) Hours of work in factories. (*b*) The hours of work with small employers and in homework, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (*c*) Night-

work and daywork. 6. Mealtimes and treatment. 7. Sort of workshop and work; overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, cleanliness, &c. 8. Nature of occupation. 9. Effect of employment upon the physical condition. 10. Moral condition. Education. 11. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition—whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, &c.

2. Limitation of the Working Day

A preliminary condition, without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive, is the legal limitation of the working day. It is needed to restore the health and physical energies of the working class—that is the great body of every nation, as well as to secure them the possibility of intellectual development, social intercourse, social and political action.

The Congress proposes eight hours' work as the legal limit of the working day. This limitation being generally claimed by the workmen of the United States of America, the vote of the Congress will raise it to the common platform of the working classes all over the world. Nightwork to be but exceptionally permitted, in trades or branches of trades specified by law. The tendency must be to suppress all nightwork. This paragraph refers only to adult persons, male or female, the latter, however, to be rigorously excluded from all nightwork whatever, and all sort of work hurtful to the delicacy of the sex, or exposing their bodies to poisonous and otherwise deleterious agencies. By adult persons are meant all persons having reached or passed the age of 18 years.

3. Juvenile and Children's Labour (Both Sexes)

The Congress considers the tendency of modern industry to make children and young persons of both sexes co-operate in the great work of social production, as a progressive, sound and legitimate tendency, although, under the domination of capital, it has become an abomination. In a rational state of society every child whatever, from the age of nine years, ought to become a productive labourer in the same way that no able-bodied adult person ought to be exempt from the general law of nature, viz.: to work in order to be able to eat, and work not only with the brain, but with the hands too. However, for the present, we have only to deal with the children and young persons belonging to the working people. They ought to be divided into three classes, to be treated differently; the first class to range from 9 to 12; the second, from 13 to 15; and the third, to comprise the ages of 16 and 17 years. We propose that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework be legally restricted to two; that of the second, to four; and that of the third, to six hours. For the third class, there must be a break of at least one hour for meals or relaxation. It may be desirable to begin elementary school instruction before the age of nine years; but we deal here only with the most indispensable antidotes against the tendencies of a social system which degrades the working man into a mere instrument for the accumulation of capital, and transforms parents by their necessities into slave-holders, sellers of their own children. The right of children and young persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is, therefore, the duty of society to act on their behalf. If the middle and higher classes neglect their duties towards their offspring, it is their own fault. Sharing the privileges of these classes, the child is condemned to suffer from their prejudices. The case of the working class stands

quite different. The working man is no free agent. In too many cases, he is even too ignorant to understand the true interest of his child, or the normal conditions of human development. However, the more enlightened part of the working class fully understand that the future of their class, and, therefore, of mankind, altogether depends upon the formation of the rising working generation. They know that, before everything else, the children and juvenile workers must be saved from the crushing effects of the present system. This can only be effected by converting social reason into social force, and under given circumstances, there exists no other method of doing so, than through general laws, enforced by the power of the state. In enforcing such laws, the working class do not fortify governmental power. On the contrary, they transform that power, now used against them, into their own agency. They effect by one general act what they would vainly attempt by a multitude of isolated individual efforts. Proceeding from this standpoint, we say that no parent and no employer ought to be allowed to use juvenile labour, except when combined with education. By education we understand three things. Firstly: Mental education. Secondly: Bodily education, such as is given in schools, by gymnastics, and by military exercise. Thirdly: Technological training, which imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and, simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades. A gradual and progressive course of mental, gymnastic, and technological training ought to correspond with the classification of the juvenile labourers. The costs of the technological schools ought to be partly met by the sale of their products. The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and polytechnic training, will raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle classes.

It is self-understood that the employment of all persons from 9 and to 17 years (inclusively) in nightwork and all health-injuring trades must be strictly prohibited by law.

4. Co-Operative Labour

It is the business of the International Working Men's Association to combine and generalise the spontaneous movements of the working classes, but not to dictate or impose any doctrinary system whatever. The Congress shall, therefore, proclaim no special system of co-operation, but limit itself to the enunciation of a few general principles.

(*a*) We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transforming forces of the present society based upon class antagonism. Its great merit is to practically show that the present pauperising and despotic system of the subordination of labour to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of the association of free and equal producers.

(*b*) Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wages slaves can elaborate it by their efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalistic society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free co-operative labour, general social changes are wanted, changes of the general conditions of society, never to be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, viz.: the state power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.

(*c*) We recommend to the working men to embark in co-operative production rather than in co-operative stores. The latter touch but the surface of the present economical system, the former attacks its groundwork.

(*d*) We recommend to all co-operative societies to convert one part of their joint income into a fund of

propagating their principles by example as well as by precept, in other words, by promoting the establishment of new co-operative fabrics as well as by teaching and preaching.

(*e*) In order to prevent co-operative societies from degenerating into ordinary middle-class joint-stock companies (sociétés par actions), all workmen employed, whether shareholders or not, ought to share alike. As a mere temporary expedient, we are willing to allow shareholders a low rate of interest.

5. Trades' Unions. Their Past, Present, and Future

(*a*) Their past.

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his individual working force. The contract between capital and labour can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labour on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their unavoidable competition amongst themselves.

Trades' Unions originally sprung up from spontaneous attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of Trades' Unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expedients for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital; in one word, to questions of wages and time of labour. This activity of the Trades' Unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalised by the formation and combination

of Trades' Unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the Trades' Unions were forming centres of organisation of the working class, as the mediaeval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the Trades' Unions are required for the guerilla fights between capital and labour, they are still more important as organised agencies for superseding the very system of wages labour.

(*b*) Their present.

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the Trades' Unions have not yet fully understood their power of action against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement[371]; from the enlarged views taken of their functions in the United States,[372] and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of Trades' delegates at Sheffield:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."[373]

(*c*) Their future.

Apart from their original purposes they must now learn to act deliberately as organising centres of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the

interests of the worst paid trades, such as the agricultural labourers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

II

RESOLUTIONS OF THIRD CONGRESS ASSEMBLED AT BRUSSELS, IN SEPTEMBER, 1868

Trades' Unions and Strikes

Resolved—1. That strikes are not a means to the complete emancipation of the working classes, but are frequently a necessity in the actual situation of the struggle between labour and capital.

2. That it is requisite to subject them to certain rules of organisation, opportunity, and legitimacy.

3. In such trades where no unions and benefit societies exist as yet, it is necessary to create them. The unions of all trades and countries must combine. In each local federation of trade societies a fund destined to support strikes ought to be established. In one word, the work undertaken by the International Working Men's Association is to be continued so as to make the working men enter the assocation *en masse*.

4. It is necessary to appoint in each locality a committee consisting of delegates of the various societies, who shall act as umpires, deciding eventually upon the advisability and legitimacy of strikes. For the rest the different sections will, of course, in the mode of appointing these councils, follow the particular manners, habits, and laws of their respective places.

The Effects of Machinery in the Hands of the Capitalist Class

Considering that on the one side machinery has proved a most powerful instrument of despotism and extortion in the hands of the capitalist class, that on the other side the development of machinery creates the material conditions necessary for the superseding of the wages system by a truly social system of production;

Considering that machinery will render no real service to the working men until by a more equitable, social organisation, it be put into their own possession, the Congress declares:

1. That it is only by means of co-operative associations and an organisation of mutual credit that the producer can obtain possession of machinery.

2. That even in the existing state of things it is possible for working men organised in trade societies to enforce some guarantees or compensation in cases of sudden displacement by machinery.

Credit Institutions for the Working Classes

Considering 1. That interest and profit of every kind accruing to capital, whatever form it may assume, is a blackmail levied upon the labour of today for the benefit of him whom the labour of yesterday has already enriched, and that if he has the right to accumulate, he has no right to do so at the expense of others;

2. That, therefore, the interest on capital is a permanent source of injustice and inequality, and that the co-operative associations by continuing this practice, do simply transfer the principle of egotism—the gnawing worm of the actual state of society—from the individuality to the collectivity;

3. That the application of the principle of solidarity on a large scale is the only practical means at the disposal of the working class to struggle against the moneyed interest;

The Congress believes the foundation of banks of exchange, based upon cost price, to be the means of rendering credit democratic and equal, of simplifying the relations between producer and consumer, of withdrawing labour from the domination of capital, and reducing the latter to its natural and legitimate function, that of being the agent of labour.

Considering, however, that it is not possible to pronounce at once upon the immediate practicability of banks of exchange,

The Congress, while maintaining the theoretical affirmation of mutual credit, recommends that the project of rules presented by the Brussels section be sent to all the branches and submitted to their serious discussion, and that the next Congress decide upon it.

The English, German, and some Swiss delegates abstained from voting.

The Question of Education

Cognisant that it is impossible at present to organise a rational system of education, the Congress invites the different sections to establish courses of public lectures on scientific and economical subjects, and thus to remedy as much as possible the shortcomings of the education actually received by the working man. It is understood that the reduction of the hours of labour is an indispensable preliminary condition of any true system of education.

Property in Land, Mines, Railroads, &c.

1. *In Relation to Mines, Collieries, Railways*, &c.—Considering that these great productive forces are fixed in, and occupy a large portion of the soil, the common gift of nature,

That they can only be worked by means of machinery and a collective labour power,

That the machinery and the collective labour power, which today exist only for the advantage of the capitalists, ought in future to benefit the whole people;

The Congress resolves:

(*a*) That the quarries, collieries, and other mines, as well as the railways, ought in a normal state of society to belong to the community represented by the state, a state itself subject to the laws of justice.

(*b*) That the quarries, collieries, and other mines, and railways, be let by the state, not to companies of capitalists as at present, but to companies of working men bound by contract to guarantee to society the rational and scientific working of the railways, etc., at a price as nearly as possible approximate to the working expense. The same contract ought to reserve to the state the right to verify the accounts of the companies, so as to prevent the possibility of any reconstitution of monopolies. A second contract ought to guarantee the mutual rights of each member of the companies in respect to his fellow workmen.

2. *In Relation to Agricultural Property.*—Considering that the necessities of production and the application of the known laws of agronomy require culture on a large scale, and necessitate the introduction of machinery and the organisation of agricultural labour power, and that generally modern economical development tends to agriculture on a large scale;

Considering that consequently agricultural labour and

property in arable soil ought to be put on the same footing as mines;

Considering that the productive properties of the soil are the prime materials of all products, the prime source of all means of production, and of all desirable things that cost no labour;

The Congress thinks that the economical development of modern society will create the social necessity of converting arable land into the common property of society,* and of letting the soil on behalf of the state to agricultural companies under conditions analogous to those stated in regard to mines and railways.

3. *In Relation to Canals, Highways, and Telegraphs.*—Considering that the roads and other means of communication require a common social direction, the Congress thinks they ought to remain the common property of society.

4. *In Relation to Forests.*—Considering that the abandonment of forests to private individuals causes the destruction of woods necessary for the conservation of springs, and, as a matter of course, of the good qualities of the soil, as well as the health and lives of the population, the Congress thinks that the forests ought to remain the property of society.

Reduction of the Hours of Labour

A resolution having been unanimously passed by the Congress of Geneva, 1866, to the effect that the legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition to all ulterior social improvement of the working classes, the Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when practical effect should be given to that resolution, and that it has become the duty of all the branches to agitate that question practically in the different countries where the International Working Men's Association is established.

* See p. 120 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

War and Standing Armies

Considering that our social institution as well as the centralisation of political power, are a permanent cause of war, which can only be removed by a thorough social reform; that the people even now can diminish the number of wars by opposing those who declare and make war; that this concerns above all the working classes, who have almost exclusively to shed their blood; that to do this there is a practical and legal means which can be immediately acted upon; that as the body politic could not go on for any length of time without labour, it would suffice for the working men to strike work to render war impossible; the International Working Men's Congress recommends to all the sections, and to the members of working men's societies in particular and to the working classes in general, to cease work in case a war be declared in their country. The Congress counts upon the spirit of solidarity which animates the working men of all countries, and entertains a hope that means would not be wanting in such an emergency to support the people against their government.[374]

Reply to the Invitation of the League of Peace[375]

1. The delegates of the International Working Men's Congress who may attend the Peace Congress at Berne are instructed to carry with them the resolutions passed at the Congresses of Geneva, Lausanne, and Brussels, and lay them before the Peace Congress; but any discussions, resolutions, or action arising out of it will be at their personal responsibility.

2. The delegates of the International Working Men's Congress declare that the League of Peace and Liberty has no *raison d'etre* in the presence of the efforts of the International Working Men's Association, and invite the

members of that League to enter the different sections of the International Working Men's Association in their respective countries.

Resolution Passed by the German Delegates

"We, the German delegates at the International Working Men's Congress at Brussels, recommend to the working men of all countries the work of Karl Marx: *Das Kapital*, published last year, and urge upon them the desirability of endeavouring to cause that important work to be translated into those languages into which it has not yet been translated. Marx has the inestimable merit of being the first political economist who has scientifically analysed capital and dissolved it into its component parts."

The Statistical Inquiry into the Situation of the Working Classes

Appeal of the General Council at London to the Workmen of Europe and America

Various causes, over which the Council had no control, have hitherto prevented the completion of the statistical inquiry, but it is by no means abandoned. On the contrary, its necessity and importance become more manifest every day, and the Council counts upon the fraternal co-operation of the leaders of the working class to bring the undertaking to a successful issue on an early day.

Published in the pamphlet *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868.* London, [1869]

Published according to the pamphlet

L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS ET "L'ALLIANCE INTERNATIONALE DE LA DÉMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE"*[376]

Il y a un mois à peu près qu'un certain nombre de citoyens s'est constitué à Genève comme *Comité Central Initiateur* d'une nouvelle Société Internationale dite *L'alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, se "donnant pour mission spéciale d'étudier les questions politiques et philosophiques sur la base même de ce grand principe de l'égalité, etc.". Le programme et le règlement imprimés de ce comité initiateur** n'ont été communiqués au *Conseil Général* de l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs* que dans sa séance du 15 décembre. D'après ces documents, la dite "*Alliance Internationale est fondue entièrement dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*", en même temps qu'elle est *fondée* entièrement en dehors de cette Association.

A côté du *Conseil Général* de l'*Association Internationale*, élu par les congrès ouvriers de Genève, de Lausanne et de Bruxelles, il y aura, d'après le règlement initiateur, un autre *Conseil Central* à Genève, qui s'est nommé lui-même. A côté des groupes locaux de l'*Association Internationale*, il y aura les groupes locaux de *L'Alliance Internationale* qui "par l'intermédiaire de leurs Bureaux nationaux", fonctionnant en dehors des bureaux nationaux de l'*Association Internationale*, "demanderont au *Bureau Central de l'Alliance leur admission dans l'Association*

* See Appendix, pp. 387-89.—*Ed.*
** See pp. 273-78 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Internationale des Travailleurs", le comité central de l'Alliance s'arrogeant ainsi le droit d'admission dans l'*Association Internationale.* En dernier lieu, le *Congrès Général de l'Association Internationale* trouvera encore sa doublure dans le *Congrès Général de l'Alliance Internationale*, car, dit le règlement initiateur:

"Au Congrès annuel des Travailleurs, la *Délégation de l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste, comme Branche de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tiendra ses séances publiques dans un local séparé.*"

Considérant,

Que la présence d'un deuxième corps international, fonctionnant en dedans et en dehors de l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, serait le moyen le plus infaillible de la désorganiser;

Que tout autre groupe d'individus, résidant dans une localité quelconque, aurait le droit d'imiter le Groupe initiateur de Genève et, sous des prétextes plus ou moins plausibles, d'enter sur l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs* d'autres Associations internationales avec d'autres "*missions spéciales*";

Que de cette manière l'*Association Internationales des Travailleurs* deviendrait bientôt le jouet des intrigants *de toute race et de toute nationalité;*

Que d'ailleurs les *Statuts de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* n'admettent dans son cadre que des branches locales et nationales (*voir l'article 1 et l'article 6 des Statuts*);

Que défense est faite aux *Sections* de l'*Association Internationale* de se donner des statuts ou règlements administratifs *contraires* aux statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'*Association Internationale* (*voir l'article 12 des Règlements administratifs*[377]);

Que les Statuts et les Règlements administratifs de l'*Association Internationale* ne peuvent être révisés que

pour un *Congrès Général* où deux tiers des délégués présents voteraient en faveur d'une telle révision (*voir l'article 13 des Règlements administratifs*)*,

Le Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale, dans la séance du 22 décembre 1868, a unanimement résolu:

1) Tous les articles du *Règlement* de l'*Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste*, statuant sur ses relations avec l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, sont déclarés nuls et de nul effet;

2) *L'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste* n'est pas admise comme branche de l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs;*

3) Ces résolutions seront publiées dans les différents pays où l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs* existe**.

Par ordre du *Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*

Londres, le 22 décembre 1868

Written by Karl Marx; approved at the General Council meeting on December 22, 1868

Published in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*. Genève, 1872

Published according to Marx's MS of December 22, 1868

* During discussion of the draft resolution at the General Council meeting on December 22, 1868, on Dupont's proposal an addition was made to this part of the resolution which was not recorded in full in the Minute Book (see p. 56 of the present volume). The text of this addition, edited apparently by Marx, was included in the final version of the circular:

"Que la question a été préjugée par les résolutions contre la *Ligue de la Paix*, adoptées unanimement au Congrès Général de Bruxelles;

"Que dans ses résolutions le *Congrès* déclare que la *Ligue de la Paix* n'avait aucune raison d'être, puisque d'après ses récentes déclarations, son but et ses principes étaient identiques à ceux de l'*Association Internationale des Travailleurs*;

"Que plusieurs membres du Groupe *Initiateur* de l'Alliance en leur qualité de délégués au Congrès de Bruxelles ont voté ces résolutions."—*Ed.*

** Point 3 was not included in the final text of the resolution.—*Ed.*

BERICHT ÜBER DIE KNAPPSCHAFTSVEREINE DER BERGARBEITER IN DEN KOHLENWERKEN SACHSENS[378]

Die erste beste *Lohnordnung*, z. B. die der Niederwürschnitzer Kompanie, zeigt uns die allgemeine Lage der Bergarbeiter in den Kohlenwerken des Erzgebirges. Der Wochenlohn beträgt für erwachsene Bergarbeiter 2 Tlr. bis 3 Tlr. 12 Sgr. 6 Pf., für Jungen 1 Tlr. 10 Sgr. bis 1 Tlr. 20 Sgr. Der Wochenlohn des Durchschnittsbergarbeiters beträgt ungefähr 2⅔ Tlr. Auf Verlangen müssen sich die Arbeiter auf Stücklohn verdingen. Daß der Stücklohn den gewöhnlichen Taglohn kaum übersteigen kann, dafür sorgt die *Lohnordnung*. Jeder Arbeiter muß nämlich seine Kündigungsfrist monatlich geben, und zwar am ersten Tage jeden Monats. Weigert er sich also, unter den angebotenen Bedingungen auf Stücklohn zu arbeiten, so wird er dazu *gezwungen*, für 4—8 Wochen wenigstens. Es ist einfach lächerlich, unter solchen Umständen von Regelung des Stücklohns durch wechselseitige Übereinkunft zu schwatzen, von freiem Kontrakt zwischen Arbeiter und Kapitalist!

Die Löhne werden in zwei Stücken gezahlt, am 22. des Monats eine Abschlagssumme, am 8. des folgenden Monats der Lohnrest des verflossenen Monats. Der Kapitalist behält also seinen Arbeitern den *geschuldeten* Lohn im Durchschnitt für 3 volle Wochen vor — eine herrschaftliche Zwangsanleihe, um so wohltuender, als Geld damit gemacht, aber kein Zins dafür gezahlt wird.

Die Ablösungen der Leute sind in der Regel zwölfstündig, und die oben angegebenen Wochenlöhne gelten für 6 zwölfstündige Arbeitstage. Der zwölfstündige Arbeitstag

enthält 2 Stunden (2 halbe Stunden und 1 ganze Stunde) für Mahlzeiten oder sogenannte *Aufsetzzeit*. Bei dringender Arbeit sind die Ablösungen achtstündig (d. h. 3 Ablösungen in 48 Stunden per Mann) mit *einer halben Stunde Mahlzeit* — und sogar sechsstündig. In letzterm Fall wird *„gar keine Aufsetzzeit gestattet"*.

Das Vorstehende liefert bereits ein trübes Bild von der Lage dieser Bergarbeiter. Zum Verständnis ihrer leibeigenschaftlichen Zustände bedarf es jedoch einer Durchmusterung der *Statuten der Knappschaftsvereine*. Nehmen wir diese Statuten für die Kohlenwerke: I. des hohen und mächtigen *Prinzen Schönburg*, II. der *Niederwürschnitzer* Kompanie, III. der *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberger* Kompanie und IV. der *Vereinigten Lugauer* Kompanien.

Die Einnahmen der Knappschaftsvereine bestehen: 1. aus den Eintrittsgeldern und Beiträgen der Arbeiter, Strafgeldern, nicht reklamierten Löhnen usw. und 2. aus den Beiträgen der Kapitalisten. Die Arbeiter zahlen 3 oder 4 Prozent von ihren Löhnen, die Meister zahlen in I 7 Gr. 5 Pf. monatlich für jeden Beitrag zahlenden Bergarbeiter, in II 1 Pfennig von jedem Scheffel verkaufter Kohle, in III als erste Einlage und zur Begründung der Knappschaftskasse 500 Tlr., im übrigen dieselben Beiträge wie die Arbeiter, endlich in IV wie in II, aber mit einem Begründungseinschuß von 100 Tlr. für jede der Vereinigten Kompanien.

Überheimelt uns hier nicht ein Stück freundlichster Harmonie zwischen Kapital und Arbeit? Wer wagt da noch von einem Gegensatz ihrer Interessen zu faseln? Aber, wie der große deutsche Denker Hansemann gesagt hat, in Geldsachen hört die Gemütlichkeit auf.[379] Es fragt sich also: Was kostet dem Arbeiter die Großmut der „hohen Werkseigentümer"? Sehen wir zu.

Die Kapitalisten tragen in einem Fall (III) soviel bei wie die Arbeiter, in allen anderen beträchtlich weniger. Dafür verlangen sie folgende Rechte, was *das Eigentum an der Knappschaftskasse* betrifft:

I. „An der Knappschaftskasse steht den *Knappschaftsmitgliedern ein Eigentumsrecht nicht zu*, auch können die Mitglieder ein Mehreres als die Gewährungen, worauf sie eintretendenfalls statutengemäß Anspruch erlangen, aus der Kasse nicht begehren, insonderheit *nicht auf Teilung derselben und der Bestände antragen*, selbst dann nicht, im Fall der Betrieb des einen oder andern Werks aufhören sollte. Sollte der Betrieb Fürstlich-Schönburgischer Steinkohlenwerker in Oelsnitz ganz aufhören", so — nach Abfindung vorhandener Ansprüche — *„steht wegen des übrigen dem fürstlichen Werkbesitzer die Verfügung zu."*

II. „Sollte der Fall eintreten, daß der Niederwürschnitzer Steinkohlenbau-Verein sich auflöste, so muß auch der Knappschaftskassenverband gleichzeitig mit zur Auflösung gebracht werden. Über den noch bleibenden Bestand *steht dem Direktorium die Verfügung zu."*

Die Mitglieder der Knappschaftskasse haben *kein Eigentum an der Knappschaftskasse.*

III. wie in II.

IV. „Die Knappschaftskasse wird als *ein unveräußerliches Eigentum* der jetzt lebenden und künftig noch eintretenden Mitglieder des Vereins betrachtet. Nur wenn der unerwartete Fall eintreten sollte, daß die Auflösung sämtlicher beteiligter Steinkohlenbau-Vereine vor sich ginge und daher auch der Knappschaftverband seiner Auflösung entgegenzuführen wäre" — nun, in diesem unerwarteten Fall erwartet man, daß die Arbeiter den etwa vorhandenen Überschuß unter sich teilen werden. Beileibe nicht! In diesen Fall „haben die Direktoren der zuletzt sich auflösenden Vereine der *Königl. Kreisdirektion* Vorschläge einzureichen. Die letztgenannte Behörde hat über jene Verwendung zu *entscheiden."*

In andern Worten: Die Arbeiter zahlen den größten Teil der Beiträge zur Knappschaftskasse, aber die Kapitalisten *maßen sich das Eigentum dieser Kassen an.* Die Kapitalisten scheinen ihren Arbeitern ein Geschenk zu machen. In der Tat werden die Arbeiter zu einem Geschenk an ihre Kapitalisten gezwungen. Diesen fällt mit dem Eigentumsrecht von selbst auch die Kontrolle über die Kasse zu.

Vorsteher des Kassenvorstands ist der Geschäftsführer des Kohlenwerkes. Er hat die Hauptverwaltung der Kasse, entscheidet in allen zweifelhaften Fällen, bestimmt die

Höhe der Geldstrafen usw. Ihm auf dem Fuß folgt der *Knappschaftsschreiber*, der zugleich der Kassierer ist. Er wird entweder vom Kapitalisten ernannt oder bedarf dessen Bestätigung, wenn er von den Arbeitern gewählt wird. Dann kommen die gewöhnlichen *Mitglieder des Vorstandes*. Sie werden im allgemeinen von den Arbeitern gewählt, aber in einem Fall (III) ernennt der Kapitalist drei dieser Vorstandsmitglieder. Was es überhaupt mit diesem „Vorstand" auf sich hat, zeigt die Bestimmung, daß „*er mindestens einmal im Jahr eine Sitzung halten*" soll. Tatsächlich gebietet der Vorsteher. Die Vorstandsmitglieder dienen ihm als Handlanger.

Dieser Herr Vorsteher, der Geschäftsführer des Werks, ist auch sonst ein mächtiger Herr. Er kann die Prüfungszeit neuer Mitglieder abkürzen, Extra-Unterstützungen verleihen, sogar (III) Arbeiter, deren Ruf ihm anstößig dünkt, verjagen, stets aber an den Kapitalherrn appellieren, dessen Entscheidung *in allen Anliegenheiten der Knappschaft* schlußgültig ist. So können Prinz Schönburg und die Direktoren der Aktiengesellschaften die Vereinsstatuten ändern, die Arbeiterbeiträge erhöhen, Krankenunterstützungen und Pensionen schmälern, Ansprüche auf die Kasse mit neuen Hindernissen und Formalitäten umgeben, kurz, *was ihnen beliebt, mit dem Geld der Arbeiter tun*, unter dem einzigen Vorbehalt der Bestätigung von Regierungsbehörden, welche bisher niemals gezeigt haben, daß sie die Lage und Bedürfnisse der Arbeiter auch nur kennenlernen *wollen*. In den Kohlenwerken III behalten sich die Direktoren sogar vor, jeden Arbeiter aus der Knappschaft zu verjagen, der *von ihnen gerichtlich verfolgt*, aber — *von dem Gerichte freigesprochen wurde!*

Und für welche Vorteile unterwerfen die Bergarbeiter ihre eigenen Angelegenheiten so blindlings dem fremden Machtgebot? Man höre.

1. In Krankheitsfällen erhalten sie ärztliche Behandlung und eine wöchentliche Unterstützung, in den Kohlenwer-

ken I zum Dritteil ihres Lohnes, in III zur Hälfte des Lohnes, in II und IV zur Hälfte resp. $^2/_3$ und $^3/_4$ des Lohnes, wenn die Krankheit durch Unfälle während der Arbeit verschuldet ist. 2. Invaliden erhalten eine Pension, je nach der Dauer des Dienstalters, also auch ihrer Beiträge zur Knappschaftskasse, von $^1/_{20}$ bis $^1/_2$ der letztverdienten Löhne. 3. Bei dem Todesfall eines Mitglieds erhält seine Witwe eine Unterstützung von $^1/_5$ bis $^1/_3$ der Pension, wozu ihr Ehemann berechtigt war, und ein winziges wöchentliches Almosen für jedes Kind. 4. Begräbnisgelder bei Todesfällen in der Familie.

Der erlauchte Prinz und die erleuchteten Kapitalisten, welche diese Statuten entwarfen, und die väterliche Regierung, welche sie bestätigte, schulden der Welt die Lösung einer Aufgabe: Wenn ein Bergarbeiter bei dem vollen Durchschnittslohn von $2^2/_3$ Tlr. per Woche halb verhungert, wie kann er leben mit einer Pension von z. B. $^1/_{20}$ dieses Lohnes, sage 4 Sgr. per Woche?

Die zarte Rücksicht der Statuten für das Kapitalinteresse leuchtet hell aus der Behandlung der Minenunfälle. Mit Ausnahme der Werke II und IV wird keine Extra-Unterstützung gewährt, wenn Krankheit oder Tod durch Unfälle „im Dienst" verursacht wird. *In keinem einzigen Fall wird die Pension erhöht,* wenn die *Invalidität* Folge von Minenunfällen ist. Der Grund ist sehr einfach. Dieser Posten würde die Kassenausgabe bedenklich schwellen und sehr bald auch dem blödesten Auge die Natur der kapitalherrlichen *Geschenke* verraten.

Die von den sächsischen Kapitalisten oktroyierten Statuten unterscheiden sich von Louis Bonapartes oktroyierter Konstitution dadurch, daß die letztere stets noch auf den krönenden Abschluß harrt, während die ersteren ihn bereits besitzen, und zwar in folgendem, allen gemeinsamen Artikel:

„Jeder Arbeiter, der die Dienste des Vereins, sei es freiwillig, *sei es gezwungen, verläßt,* tritt dadurch aus der Knappschaft aus

und *verliert alle Rechte und Ansprüche sowohl an die Kasse derselben als an das von ihm selbst eingezahlte Geld.*"

Also ein Mann, der 30 Jahre in einem Kohlenwerke gearbeitet und zur Knappschaftskasse beigesteuert hat, verliert alle so teuer erkauften Pensionsansprüche, sobald ihn der Kapitalist *zu entlassen beliebt*! Dieser Artikel verwandelt den Lohnarbeiter in einen Leibeigenen, bindet ihn an die Scholle, setzt ihn der schnödesten Mißhandlung aus. Wenn er kein Liebhaber von Fußtritten ist, wenn er sich wehrt gegen Herabdrückung des Lohnes auf den Hungerpunkt, wenn er willkürliche Geldstrafen zu zahlen [sich] weigert, wenn er gar auf amtliche Prüfung der Maße und Gewichte dringt — er erhält stets dieselbe eintönige Antwort: Packe dich, aber die Kassenbeiträge und deine Kassenansprüche gehen nicht mit auf die Reise!

Es scheint paradox, von Leuten in so verworfener Lage männliche Unabhängigkeit und Selbstachtung zu erwarten. Dennoch zählen diese Bergarbeiter, zu ihrer Ehre sei es gesagt, unter den Vorkämpfern der deutschen Arbeiterklasse. Ihre Meister beginnen daher eine große Unruhe zu fühlen, trotz des ungeheuren Halts, den ihnen die jetzige Organisation der Knappschaftsvereine bietet. Das jüngste und gemeinste ihrer Statuten (III, es datiert von 1862) enthält folgenden grotesken Vorbehalt gegen Strikes und Koalition:

„Jedes Knappschaftsmitglied *hat mit dem ihm nach der Lohnordnung zu stellenden Lohne stets zufrieden zu sein*, zu gemeinschaftlichen, die Erzwingung einer Erhöhung seines Einkommens bezweckenden Handlungen sich niemals herzugeben, geschweige dergleichen durch Verführung seiner Kameraden zu veranlassen, vielmehr usw."

Warum haben die Lykurge des *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberger* Steinkohlenbau-Aktienvereins, die Herrn *B. Krüger, F. W. Schwamkrug* und *F. W. Richter*, nicht auch zu beschließen geruht, daß von nun an jeder *Kohlenkäufer* mit ihren höchsteigenhändig festgesetzten *Kohlenpreisen*

„stets zufrieden zu sein hat"? Dies schlägt denn doch den „beschränkten Untertanenverstand" des Herrn von Rochow.[380]

Infolge der Agitation unter den Bergarbeitern ist neulich ein *provisorischer Statutenentwurf* zur Vereinigung der Knappschaften aller sächsischen Kohlenwerke veröffentlicht worden (Zwickau 1869). Er ist das Werk eines Arbeiterkomitees unter dem Vorsitz des Herrn *J. G. Dinter*. Die Hauptpunkte sind: 1. Alle Knappschaften sind in eine gemeinsame Knappschaft zu vereinen. 2. Mitglieder bewahren ihre Ansprüche, solange sie in Deutschland wohnen und ihre Beiträge bezahlen. 3. Eine Generalversammlung aller erwachsenen Mitglieder bildet die höchste Autorität. Sie ernennt einen vollziehenden Ausschuß usw. 4. Die Beiträge der Meister zur Knappschaftskasse sollen die Hälfte der von ihren Arbeitern gezahlten Beiträge erreichen.

Dieser Entwurf drückt keineswegs die Ansicht der intelligentesten sächsischen Bergarbeiter aus. Er kommt vielmehr von einer Sektion, welche reformieren möchte mit Erlaubnis des Kapitals. Er trägt den Stempel des Unpraktischen auf der Stirne. Welche naive Unterstellung in der Tat, daß die Kapitalisten, bisher unbeschränkte Herrscher über die Knappschaftsvereine, ihre Gewalt an eine demokratische Generalversammlung von Arbeitern abtreten und trotzdem Beiträge zahlen werden.

Das *Grundübel* besteht gerade darin, daß die Kapitalisten *überhaupt beitragen*. Solang dies dauert, ist ihnen die Leitung des Knappschaftsvereins und der Knappschaftskasse nicht zu entziehen. Um wirkliche Arbeitergesellschaften zu sein, müssen die Knappschaftsvereine ausschließlich auf Arbeiterbeiträgen beruhn. So nur können sie sich in Trades Unions verwandeln, welche individuelle Arbeiter vor der Willkür individueller Meister schützen. Die unbedeutenden und zweideutigen Vorteile, welche die Kapitalistenbeiträge bieten — können sie je den Zustand der Leibeigenschaft aufwiegen, wozu sie den Arbeiter

zurückdrängen? Mögen die sächsischen Bergleute stets bedenken: Was er immer zur Knappschaftskasse zahle, der *Kapitalist erspart ebensoviel und mehr am Arbeitslohn.* Gesellschaften dieser Art haben die eigentümliche Wirkung, *das Gesetz der Nachfrage und Zufuhr zum ausschließlichen Vorteil des Kapitalisten zu suspendieren.* In andern Worten: Durch den *ungewöhnlichen* Halt, den sie dem Kapital auf individuelle Arbeiter geben, drücken sie die Löhne selbst *unter* ihre gewöhnliche Durchschnittshöhe herab.

Aber sollen die Arbeiter denn die restierenden Kassen — versteht sich nach Abfindung erworbener Rechte — den Kapitalisten schenken? Diese Frage kann nur *gerichtlich* gelöst werden. Trotz *königlich obrigkeitlicher Bestätigung* schlagen gewisse Artikel der Statuten den allgemeingültigen zivilrechtlichen Prinzipien über Verträge ins Gesicht. Unter allen Umständen jedoch bleibt die Scheidung des Geldes der Arbeiter vom Geld der Kapitalisten die unerläßliche Vorbedingung zu jeder Reform der Knappschaftsvereine.

Die Beiträge der sächsischen Kohlenwerkbesitzer zu den Knappschaftskassen enthalten das unfreiwillige Eingeständnis, daß das Kapital bis zu einem gewissen Punkt haftbar ist für die Unfälle, die den Lohnarbeiter während seiner Arbeitsfunktion, in der Arbeitsstätte, an Leib oder Leben gefährden. Statt aber, wie es jetzt geschieht, diese Haftbarkeit zum Vorwand eines erweiterten Kapitaldespotismus machen zu lassen, geziemt es den Arbeitern, für *die gesetztliche Regelung der Haftbarkeit* zu agitieren.

Written by Engels between February 17 and 21, 1869; read at the General Council meeting on February 23, 1869

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Published according to the newspaper text

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY[381]

London, 9 March, 1869

Citizens,

According to Article I of its Statutes, the Int. W. Ass. admits "all working men's societies . . . aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and *complete emancipation of the working classes*".

Since the various sections of working men in the same country, and the working classes in different countries, are placed under different circumstances and have attained to different degrees of development, it seems almost necessary that the theoretical notions, which reflect the real movement, should also diverge.

The community of action, however, called into life by the Intern. W. Ass., the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of the different national sections, and the direct debates at the General Congresses, are sure by and by to engender a common theoretical programme.

Consequently, it belongs not to the functions of the General Council to subject the programme of the Alliance to a critical examination. We have not to inquire whether, yes or no, it be a true scientific expression of the working-class movement. All we have to ask is whether its *general tendency* does not run against the *general tendency* of the Int. W. Ass., viz., *the complete emancipation of the working class*?

One phrase in your programme lies open to this objection. It occurs [in] Article 2:

"Elle (l'Alliance) veut avant tout *l'égalisation* politique, économique et sociale des *classes*." ("The Alliance aims above all at the political, economical, and social *equalisation ... of classes*."[382])

The "égalisation des classes", literally interpreted, comes to the "Harmony of Capital and Labour" ("l'harmonie du capital et du travail") so persistently preached by the bourgeois socialists. It is not the logically impossible "equalisation of classes", but the historically necessary, superseding "abolition of classes" (abolition des classes), this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the Int. W. Ass.

Considering, however, the context, in which that phrase "égalisation des classes" occurs, it seems to be a mere slip of the pen, and the General Council feels confident that you will be anxious to remove from your programme an expression which offers such a dangerous misunderstanding.

It suits the *principles* of the Int. W. Ass. to let every section freely shape its own theoretical programme, except the single case of an infringement upon its general tendency. There exists, therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the Int. W. Ass.

The dissolution of the Alliance, and the entrance of its sections into the Int. W. Ass. once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary to inform the General Council of the residence and the numerical strength of each new section.

Written by Karl Marx; approved by the General Council at its meeting on March 9, 1869

Published according to the English MS

First published in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*. Genève, 1872

Published for the first time in the original

THE BELGIAN MASSACRES[383]

TO THE WORKMEN OF EUROPE
AND THE UNITED STATES

There passes hardly a week in England without strikes—and strikes upon a grand scale. If, on such occasions, the Government was to let its soldiers loose upon the Working Class, this land of strikes would become a land of massacres, but not for many a week. After a few such physical force experiments, the powers that be would be nowhere. In the United States, too, the number and scale of strikes have continued to increase during the last few years, and even sometimes assumed a riotous character. But no blood was spilt. In some of the great military states of continental Europe, the era of strikes may be dated from the end of the American Civil War. But here, again, no blood was spilt. There exists but one country in the civilised world where every strike is eagerly and joyously turned into a pretext for the official massacre of the Working Class. That country of single blessedness is *Belgium*! the model state of continental constitutionalism, the snug, well-hedged, little paradise of the landlord, the capitalist, and the priest. The earth performs not more surely its yearly revolution than the Belgian Government its yearly Working Men's massacre. The massacre of this

year does not differ from last year's massacre,[384] but by the ghastlier number of its victims, the more hideous ferocity of an otherwise ridiculous army, the noiser jubilation of the clerical and capitalist press, and the intensified frivolity of the pretexts put forward by the Governmental butchers.

It is now proved, even by the involuntary evidence of the capitalist press, that the quite legitimate strike of the puddlers in the Cockerill Ironworks, at Seraing, was only converted into a riot by a strong posse of cavalry and gendarmerie suddenly launched upon that place in order to provoke the people. From the 9th to the 12th of April these stout warriors not only recklessly charged with sabre and bayonet the unarmed workmen, they indiscriminately killed and wounded harmless passers-by, forcibly broke into private houses, and even amused themselves with repeated furious onslaughts on the travellers pent up in the Seraing Railway Station. When these days of horror had passed away, it became bruited about that Mr. *Kamp*, the mayor of Seraing, was an agent of the Cockerill Joint Stock Company, that the Belgian Home Minister, a certain Mr. *Pirmez*, was the largest shareholder in a neighbouring colliery also on strike, and that His Royal Highness the Prince of Flanders had invested 1,500,000 francs in the Cockerill concern.[385] Hence people jump to the truly strange conclusion that the Seraing massacre was a sort of joint stock company *coup d'etat*, quietly plotted between the firm Cockerill and the Belgian Home Minister, for the simple purpose of striking terror unto their disaffected subjects. This calumny, however, was soon after victoriously refuted by the later events occurring in Le Borinage, a colliery district where the Belgian Home Minister, the said Mr. *Pirmez*, seems not to be a leading capitalist. An almost general strike having broken out amongst the miners of that district, numerous

troops were concentrated, who opened their campaign at Frameries by a fusillade, which killed nine and grievously wounded twenty miners, *after* which little preliminary exploit the Riot Act, singularly enough styled in French "*les sommations préalables*",[386] was read, and then the butchery proceeded with.

Some politicians trace these incredible deeds to motives of a sublime patriotism. While just negotiating on some ticklish points with their French neighbour,[387] the Belgian Government, they say, were bound in duty to show off the heroism of their army. Hence that scientific division of arms, displaying, first, the irresistible impetuosity of the Belgian cavalry at Seraing, and then the steady vigour of the Belgian infantry at Frameries. To frighten the foreigner, what means more infallible than such homely battles, which one does not know how to lose, and such domestic battlefields, where the hundreds of workmen killed, mutilated, and made prisoners, shed so glorious a lustre upon those invulnerable warriors, who, all of them, to a man, get off with their skins safe.

Other politicians, on the contrary, suspect the Belgian ministers to be sold to the Tuileries, and to periodically enact these horrible scenes of a mock civil war, with the deliberate aim of affording Louis Bonaparte a pretext for saving society in Belgium as he has saved it in France. But was Ex-Governor Eyre ever accused of having organised the Negro massacre at Jamaica in order to wrest that island from England and place it into the hands of the United States? No doubt the Belgian ministers are excellent patriots of the Eyre pattern. As he was the unscrupulous tool of the West-Indian planter, they are the unscrupulous tools of the Belgian capitalist.

The Belgian capitalist has won fair fame in the world by his eccentric passion for, what he calls, *the liberty of labour* (*la liberté du travail*). So fond is he of the liberty

of his hands to labour for him all the hours of their life, without exemption of age or sex, that he has always indignantly repulsed any factory law encroaching upon that liberty. He shudders at the very idea that a common workman should be wicked enough to claim any higher destiny than that of enriching his master and natural superior. He wants his workman not only to remain a miserable drudge, overworked and underpaid, but, like every other slave-holder, he wants him to be a cringing, servile, broken-hearted, morally prostrate, religiously humble drudge. Hence his frantic fury at strikes. With him, a strike is a blasphemy, a slave's revolt, the signal of a social cataclysm. Put, now, into the hands of such men—cruel from sheer cowardice—the undivided, uncontrolled, absolute sway of the state power, as is actually the case in Belgium, and you will no longer wonder to find the sabre, the bayonet, and the musket working in that country as legitimate and normal instruments for keeping wages down and screwing profits up. But, in point of fact, what other earthly purpose could a Belgian army serve? When, by the dictation of official Europe, Belgium was declared a *neutral country*,[388] it ought, as a matter of course, have been forbidden the costly luxury of an army, save, perhaps, a handful of soldiers, just sufficient to mount the royal guard and parade at a royal puppet-show. Yet, within its 536 square leagues of territory, Belgium harbours an army greater than that of the United Kingdom or the United States. The field service of this neutralised army is fatally computed by the number of its *razzias* upon the working class.

It will easily be understood that the *International Working Men's Association* was no welcome guest in Belgium. Excommunicated by the priest, calumniated by the respectable press, it came soon to loggerheads with the Government. The latter tried hard to get rid of it by making

it responsible for the Charleroi colliery strikes of 1867-68, strikes wound up, after the invariable Belgian rule, by official massacres, followed by the judicial prosecution of the victims. Not only was this cabal baffled, but the Association took active steps, resulting in a verdict of *not guilty* for the Charleroi miners, and, consequently, in a verdict of *guilty* against the Government itself. Fretting at this defeat, the Belgian ministers gave vent to their spleen by fierce denunciations, from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, against the *International Working Men's Association*, and pompously declared they should never allow its General Congress to meet at Brussels. In the teeth of their menaces the Congress met at Brussels. But now at last the *International* is to succumb before the 536 square leagues of Belgian Omnipotence. Its culpable complicity during the recent events has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt. The emissaries of the Brussels Central Committee for Belgium and some of the Local Committees stand convicted of several flagrant crimes. In the first instance, they have tried hard to calm the excitement of the workmen on strike, and warn them off the Government traps. In some localities they have actually prevented the effusion of blood. And last, not least, these ill-boding emissaries observed on the spot, verified by witnesses, noted carefully down and publicly denounced the sanguinary vagaries of the defenders of order. By the simple process of imprisonment they were at once converted from the accusors into the accused. Then the domiciles of the members of the Brussels Committee were brutally invaded, all their papers seized, and some of them arrested on the charge of belonging to an association "*founded for the purpose of attempting the lives and properties of individuals*". In other words, they were impeached of belonging to an *Association of Thugs*,[389] commonly styled the *International Working Men's Association.* Hunted on by the raving capucinades of the

clerical and the savage howls of the capitalist press, this swaggering pigmy government is decidedly anxious to drown itself in a morass of ridicule, after having weltered in a sea of blood.

Already the Belgian Central Committee at Brussels has announced its intention to institute, and afterwards publish the results of, a full inquiry into the massacres of Seraing and Le Borinage. We will circulate their revelations all over the world, in order to open the eyes of the world on the pet funfaronade of the Belgian capitalist: *La liberté, pour faire le tour du monde, n'a pas besoin de passer par ici (la Belgique).**

Perhaps, the Belgian Government flatters itself that having, after the revolutions of 1848-49, gained a respite of life by becoming the police agent of all the reactionary governments of the Continent, it may now again avert imminent danger by conspicuously playing the gendarme of capital against labour. This, however, is a serious mistake. Instead of delaying, they will thus only hasten the catastrophe. By making Belgium a byword and a nickname with the popular masses all over the world, they will remove the last obstacle in the way of the despots bent upon wiping that country's name off the map of Europe.

The General Council of the *International Working Men's Association* hereby calls upon the workmen of Europe and the United States to open monetary subscriptions for alleviating the sufferings of the widows, wives, and children of the Belgian victims, and also for the expenses incident upon the legal defence of the arrested workmen, and the inquiry proposed by the Brussels Committee.

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* Liberty in travelling round the world has no need of passing through Belgium.

By order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

R. APPLEGARTH, *Chairman*
R. SHAW, *Secretary for America*
BERNARD, *Secretary for Belgium*
EUGÈNE DUPONT, *Secretary for France*
KARL MARX, *Secretary for Germany*
JULES JOHANNARD, *Secretary for Italy*
A. ZABICKI, *Secretary for Poland*
H. JUNG, *Secretary for Switzerland*
COWELL STEPNEY, *Treasurer*
J. G. ECCARIUS, *Secretary to the General Council*

London, May 4th, 1869

All contributions for the victims of the Belgian massacre to be sent to the Office of the General Council, 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.

Written by Karl Marx; approved by the General Council at its meeting on May 4, 1869

Published as a leaflet, "The Belgian Massacres. To the Workmen of Europe and the United States", May 1869, and in the newspapers *L'Internationale* No. 18, May 15, 1869, and *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 21, May 22, 1869

Published according to the leaflet

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL LABOUR UNION OF THE UNITED STATES*

Fellow-workmen,

In the initiatory programme of our Association we stated: "It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." Your turn has now come to stop a war, the clearest result of which would be, for an indefinite period, to hurl back the ascendant movement of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic.

We need hardly tell you that there exist European powers anxiously bent upon hurrying the United States into a war with England. A glance at commercial statistics will show that the Russian export of raw produce, and Russia has nothing else to export, was rapidly giving way before American competition, when the civil war suddenly turned the scales. To convert the American ploughshares into swords would just now rescue from impending bankruptcy that despotic power which your republican statesmen have, in their wisdom, chosen for their confidential adviser. But quite apart from the particular interests of this or that government, is it not the general interest of our common oppressors to turn our fast-growing international co-operation into an internecine war?

* See pp. 101-03 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

In a congratulatory address to Mr. Lincoln on his re-election as president, we expressed our conviction that the American civil war would prove of as great import to the advancement of the working class as the American war of independence had proved to that of the middle class. And, in point of fact, the victorious termination of the anti-slavery war has opened a new epoch in the annals of the working class. In the States themselves, an independent working-class movement, looked upon with an evil eye by your old parties and their professional politicians, has since that date sprung into life. To fructify it wants years of peace. To crush it, a war between the United States and England is wanted.

The next palpable effect of the civil war was, of course, to deteriorate the position of the American workman. In the United States, as in Europe, the monster incubus of a national debt was shifted from hand to hand, to settle down on the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessaries, says one of your statesmen, have since 1860 risen 78 per cent, while the wages of unskilled labour rose 50 per cent, those of skilled labour 60 per cent only. "Pauperism," he complains, "grows now in America faster than population." Moreover, the sufferings of the working classes set off as a foil the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats, and similar vermin bred by wars. Yet for all this the civil war did compensate by freeing the slave and the consequent moral impetus it gave to your own class movement. A second war, not hallowed by a sublime purpose and a great social necessity, but of the Old World's type, would forge chains for the free labourer instead of tearing asunder those of the slave. The accumulated misery left in its track would afford your capitalists at once the motive and the means to divorce the working class from its bold and just aspirations by the soulless sword of a standing army.

On you, then, depends the glorious task to prove to the world that now at last the working classes are bestriding the scene of history no longer as servile retainers, but as independent actors, conscious of their own responsibility, and able to command peace where their would-be masters shout war.

In the name of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, British nationality:

R. APPLEGARTH, carpenter; M. J. BOON, engineer; J. BUCKLEY, painter; J. HALES, elastic web-weaver; HARRIET LAW; B. LUCRAFT, chair-maker; J. MILNER, tailor; G. ODGER, shoemaker; J. ROSS, bootcloser; B. SHAW, painter; COWELL STEPNEY; J. WARREN, trunk-maker; J. WESTON, handrail-maker. French nationality: E. DUPONT, instrument-maker; JULES JOHANNARD, lithographer; PAUL LAFARGUE. German nationality: G. ECCARIUS, tailor; F. LESSNER, tailor; W. LIMBURG, shoemaker; MARX, KARL. Swiss nationality: H. JUNG, watchmaker; A. MÜLLER, watchmaker. Belgian nationality: M. BERNARD, painter. Danish nationality: J. COHN, cigar-maker. Polish nationality: ZABICKI, compositor.

B. LUCRAFT, *Chairman*
COWELL STEPNEY, *Treasurer*
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, *General Secretary*

London, May 12th, 1869

Written by Karl Marx

Published as a leaflet, *Address to the National Labour Union of the United States*, London, 1869

Published according to the leaflet

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL ON THE RIGHT OF INHERITANCE[390]

1. The right of inheritance is only of social import, in so far as it leaves to the heir the power which the deceased wielded *during his lifetime*, viz., *the power of transferring to himself*, by means of his property, the *produce of other people's labour*. For instance, land gives the living proprietor the power to transfer to himself, under the name of rent, without any equivalent, the produce of other people's labour. Capital gives him the power to do the same under the name of profit and interest. The property in public funds gives him the power to live without labour upon other people's labour, &c.

Inheritance does not *create* that power of transferring the produce of one man's labour into another man's pocket—it only relates to the change in the individuals who yield that power. Like all other civil legislation, the laws of inheritance are not the *cause*, but the *effect*, the *juridical consequence* of the *existing economical organisation of society*, based upon private property in the means of production, that is to say, in land, raw material, machinery, &c. In the same way the right of inheritance in the slave is not the cause of slavery, but, on the contrary, slavery is the cause of inheritance in slaves.

2. What we have to grapple with, is the cause and not the effect, the economical basis—not its juridical superstructure. Suppose the means of production transformed from private into social prosperity, then the right of

inheritance—(so far as it is of any social importance)—would die of itself, because a man only leaves after his death what he possessed during his lifetime. Our great aim must, therefore, be to supersede those institutions which give to some people, *during their lifetime*, the economical power of transferring to themselves the fruits of the labour of the many. Where the state of society is far enough advanced, and the working class possesses sufficient power to abrogate such institutions, they must do so in a *direct way*. For instance, by doing away with the public debt, they get of course, at the same time, rid of the inheritance in public funds. On the other hand, if they do not possess the power to abolish the public debt, it would be a foolish attempt to abolish the right of inheritance in public funds.

The disappearance of the right of inheritance will be the natural result of a social change superseding private property in the means of production; but the *abolition of the right of inheritance* can never be the *starting-point* of such a social transformation.

3. It was one of the great errors committed about 40 years since by the disciples of St. Simon, to treat the *right of inheritance*, not as the *legal effect*, but as the economical cause of the present social organisation. This did not at all prevent them from perpetuating in their system of society private property in land, and the other means of production. Of course elective and life-long proprietors, they thought, might exist as elective kings have existed.

To proclaim the abolition of the *right of inheritance* as the *starting-point* of the social revolution, would only tend to lead the working class away from the true point of attack against present society. It would be as absurd a thing as to abolish the laws of contract between buyer and seller, while continuing the present state of exchange of commodities.

It would be a thing false in theory, and reactionary in practice.

4. In treating of the laws of inheritance, we necessarily suppose that *private property* in the means of production continues to exist. If it did no longer exist amongst the living, it could not be transferred from them, and by them, after their death. All measures, in regard to the right of inheritance, can therefore only *relate* to a state of *social transition*, where, on the one hand, the present economical base of society is not yet transformed, but where, on the other hand, the working masses have gathered strength enough to *enforce transitory measures* calculated to bring about an ultimate radical change of society.

Considered from this standpoint, changes of the laws of inheritance form only part of *a great many other transitory measures* tending to the same end.

These transitory measures, as to inheritance, can only be:

(*a*) Extension of the inheritance duties already existing in many states, and the application of the funds hence derived to purposes of social emancipation.

(*b*) Limitation of the testamentary right of inheritance, which—as distinguished from the *intestate* or *family right of inheritance*—appears an arbitrary and superstitious exaggeration even of the principles of private property themselves.

Written by Karl Marx on August 2-3, 1869; endorsed by the General Council at its meeting on August 3, 1869

Published in the pamphlet *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland*, printed in London, in 1869

Published according to the pamphlet

TO THE NATIONAL LABOUR UNION OF THE UNITED STATES[391]

Fellow Working Men and Women,

The sad tidings that death has so unexpectedly and prematurely removed your honoured and able president, William H. Sylvis—a loyal, persevering, and indefatigable worker in the good cause—from among you have filled us with inexpressible grief and sorrow. The great brother and sisterhood of toil can ill afford to lose such tried champions in the bloom of life as him, whose loss we mourn in common. But, though able counsellors and tried leaders are not over-abundant, we find consolation in the knowledge that there are men in your ranks willing and able to serve you in his stead, and with the same zeal and devotion. We are pre-assured that your present session[392] will select the right men for the right places, and make arrangements that will enable you to continue the great struggle without any interruption, and to ensure its success.

Written by Eccarius

Published in *The Bee-Hive*, August 21, and *The Workingman's Advocate*, September 18, 1869

Published according to *The Bee-Hive*

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[393]

Citizens,

The delegates of the different sections will give you detailed reports on the progress of our Association in their respective countries. The report of your General Council will mainly relate to the guerilla fights between capital and labour—we mean the strikes which during the last year have perturbed the continent of Europe, and were said to have sprung neither from the misery of the labourer nor from the despotism of the capitalist, but from the secret intrigues of our Association.

A few weeks after the meeting of our last Congress, a memorable strike on the part of the ribbon-weavers and silk-dyers occurred in Basle, a place which to our days has conserved much of the features of a mediaeval town with its local traditions, its narrow prejudices, its purse-proud patricians, and its patriarchal rule of the employer over the employed. Still, a few years ago a Basle manufacturer boasted to an English secretary of embassy, that "the position of the master and the man was on a better footing here than in England", that "in Switzerland the operative who leaves a good master for better wages would be *despised* by his own *fellow-workmen*", and that "our advantage lies principally in the length of the working time and the moderation of the wages". You see, *patri-*

archalism, as modified by modern influences, comes to this—that the master is good, and that his wages are bad, that the labourer feels like a mediaeval vassal, and is exploited like a modern wages-slave.

That patriarchalism may further be appreciated from an official Swiss inquiry into the factory employment of children and the state of the primary public schools. It was ascertained that "the Basle school atmosphere is the worst in the world, that while in the free air carbonic acid forms only 4 parts of 10,000, and in closed rooms should not exceed 10 parts, it rose in Basle common schools to 20-81 parts in the forenoon, and to 53-94 in the afternoon". Thereupon a member of the Basle Great Council, Mr. Thurneysen, coolly replied, "Don't allow yourselves to be frightened. The parents have passed through schoolrooms as bad as the present ones, and yet they have escaped with their skins safe".

It will now be understood that an economical revolt on the part of the Basle workmen could not but mark an epoch in the social history of Switzerland. Nothing more characteristic than the starting-point of the movement. There existed an old custom for the ribbon-weavers to have a few hours' holiday on Michaelmas. The weavers claiming this small privilege at the usual time in the factory of Messrs. Dubary and Sons, one of the masters declared, in a harsh voice and with imperious gesticulation, "Whoever leaves the factory will be dismissed at once and for ever". Finding their protestations in vain, 104 out of 172 weavers left the workshop without, however, believing in their definite dismissal, since master and men were bound by written contract to give a fourteen days' notice to quit. On their return the next morning they found the factory surrounded by gendarmes, keeping off the yesterday's rebels, with whom all their comrades now made common cause. Being thus suddenly thrown out of work, the weavers with their families were simultaneously eject-

ed from the cottages they rented from their employers, who, into the bargain, sent circular letters round to the shopkeepers to debar the houseless ones from all credit for victuals. The struggle thus begun lasted from the 9th of November, 1868, to the spring of 1869. The limits of our report do not allow us to enter upon its details. It suffices to state that it originated in a capricious and spiteful act of capitalist despotism, in a cruel lock-out, which led to strikes, from time to time interrupted by compromises, again and again broken on the part of the masters, and that it culminated in the vain attempt of the Basle "High and Honourable State Council" to intimidate the working people by military measures and a quasi state of siege.

During their sedition the workmen were supported by the International Working Men's Association. But that was not all. That society the masters said had first smuggled the modern spirit of rebellion into the good old town of Basle. To again expel that mischievous intruder from Basle became, therefore, their great preoccupation. Hard they tried, though in vain, to enforce the withdrawal from it as a condition of peace, upon their subjects. Getting generally worsted in their war with the International they vented their spleen in strange pranks. Owning some industrial branch establishments at Lörrach, in Baden, these republicans induced the grand-ducal official to suppress the International section at that place, a measure which, however, was soon after rescinded by the Baden Government. The Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung,* a paper of world-wide circulation, presuming to report on the Basle events in an impartial spirit,[394] the angry worthies threatened it in foolish letters with the withdrawal of their subscriptions. To London they expressly sent a messenger on the fantastic errand of ascertaining the dimensions of the International general "treasury-box". Orthodox Christians as they are, if they had lived at the time of nascent Chris-

tianity, they would, above all things, have spied into St. Paul's banking accounts at Rome.

Their clumsily savage proceedings brought down upon them some ironical lessons of worldly wisdom on the part of the Geneva capitalist organs. Yet, a few months later, the uncouth Basle vestrymen might have returned the compliment with usurious interest to the Geneva men of the world.

In the month of March there broke out in Geneva a buildings' trade strike, and a compositors' strike, both bodies being affiliated to the International. The builders' strike was provoked by the masters setting aside a convention solemnly entered upon with their workmen a year ago. The compositors' strike was but the winding-up of a ten years' quarrel which the men had during all that time in vain tried to settle by five consecutive commissions. As in Basle, the masters transformed at once their private feuds with their men into a state crusade against the International Working Men's Association.

The Geneva State Council dispatched policemen to receive at the railway stations, and sequestrate from all contact with the strikers, such foreign workmen as the masters might contrive to inveigle from abroad. It allowed the "Jeunesse Dorée", the hopeful loafers of "La Jeune Suisse", armed with revolvers, to assault, in the streets and places of public resort, workmen and workwomen. It launched its own police ruffians on the working people on different occasions, and signally on the 24th May, when it enacted at Geneva, on a small scale, the Paris scenes which Raspail has branded as "Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes".[395] When the Geneva workmen passed in public meeting an address to the State Council, calling upon it to inquire into these infernal police orgies, the State Council replied by a sneering rebuke. It evidently wanted, at the behest of its capitalist superiors, to madden the Geneva people into an *émeute*, to stamp that *émeute* out

by the armed force, to sweep the International from the Swiss soil, and to subject the workmen to a Decembrist regime. This scheme was baffled by the energetic action and moderating influence of our Geneva Federal Committee. The masters had at last to give way.

And now listen to some of the invectives of the Geneva capitalists and their press-gang against the International. In public meeting they passed an address to the State Council, where the following phrase occurs:

"The International Committee at Geneva ruins the Canton of Geneva *by decrees sent from London and Paris*; it wants here to suppress all industry and all labour."

One of their journals stated

"That the leaders of the International were secret agents of the Emperor, who, at the opportune moment, were very likely to turn out public accusers against this little Switzerland of ours".

And this on the part of the men who had just shown themselves so eager to transplant at a moment's notice the Decembrist regime to the Swiss soil, on the part of financial magnates, the real rulers of Geneva and other Swiss towns, whom all Europe knows to have long since been converted from citizens of the Swiss republic into mere feudatories of the French Crédit Mobilier[396] and other international swindling associations.

The massacres by which the Belgian Government did answer in April last to the strikes of the puddlers at Seraing and the coal-miners of Borinage, have been fully exposed in the address of the General Council to the workmen of Europe and the United States.* We considered this address the more urgent since, with that constitutional model government, such working men's massacres are not an accident, but an institution. The horrid military drama was succeeded by a judicial farce. In the proceedings

* See pp. 312-18 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

against our Belgian General Committee at Brussels, whose domiciles were brutally broken in by the police, and many of whose members were placed under secret arrest, the judge of instruction finds the letter of a workman, asking for 500 "*Internationales*", and he at once jumps to the conclusion that 500 fighting-men were to be dispatched to the scene of action. The 500 "*Internationales*" were 500 copies of the *Internationale*, the weekly organ of our Brussels Committee.

A telegram to Paris by a member of the International, ordering a certain quantity of powder, is raked up. After a prolonged research, the dangerous substance is really laid hand on at Brussels. It is powder for killing vermin. Last, not least, the Belgian police flattered itself, in one of its domiciliary visits, to have got at that phantom treasure which haunts the great mind of the continental capitalist, viz.: the International treasure, the main stock of which is safely hoarded at London, but whose offsets travel continually to all the continental seats of the Association. The Belgian official inquirer thought it buried in a certain strong box, hidden in a dark place. He gets at it, opens it forcibly, and there was found—some pieces of coal. Perhaps, if touched by the hand of the police, the pure International gold turns at once into coal.

Of the strikes that, in December, 1868, infested several French cotton districts, the most important was that at Sotteville-lès-Rouen. The manufacturers of the Department de la Somme had not long ago met at Amiens, in order to consult how they might undersell the English manufacturers in the English market itself. Having made sure that, besides protective duties, the comparative lowness of French wages had till now mainly enabled them to defend France from English cottons, they naturally inferred that a still further lowering of French wages would allow them to invade England with French cottons. The French cotton-workers, they did not doubt, would feel proud at the idea

of defraying the expenses of a war of conquest which their masters had so patriotically resolved to wage on the other side of the Channel. Soon after it was bruited about that the cotton manufacturers of Rouen and its environs had, in secret conclave, agreed upon the same line of policy. Then an important reduction of wages was suddenly proclaimed at Sotteville-lès-Rouen, and then for the first time the Normand weavers rose against the encroachments of capital. They acted under the stir of the moment. Neither had they before formed a trades union nor provided for any means of resistance. In their distress they appealed to the International committee at Rouen, which found for them some immediate aid from the workmen of Rouen, the neighbouring districts, and Paris. Towards the end of December, 1868, the General Council was applied to by the Rouen Committee, at a moment of utmost distress throughout the English cotton districts, of unparalleled misery in London, and a general depression in all branches of British industry. This state of things has continued in England to this moment. Despite such highly unfavourable circumstances, the General Council thought that the peculiar character of the Rouen conflict would stir the English workmen to action. This was a great opportunity to show the capitalists that their international industrial warfare, carried on by screwing wages down now in this country, now in that, would be checked at last by the international union of the working classes. To our appeal the English workmen replied at once by a first contribution to Rouen, and the London Trades Council resolved to summon, in unison with the General Council, a metropolitan monster meeting on behalf of their Normand brethren. These proceedings were stopped by the news of the sudden cessation of the Sotteville strike. The miscarriage of that economical revolt was largely compensated for by its moral results. It enlisted the Normand cotton-workers

into the revolutionary army of labour, it gave rise to the birth of trades unions at Rouen, Elboeuf, Darnétal, and the environs; and it sealed anew the bond of fraternity between the English and French working classes.

During the winter and spring of 1869 the propaganda of our Association in France was paralysed, consequent upon the violent dissolution of our Paris section in 1868, the police chicaneries in the departments, and the absorbing interest of the French general elections.

The elections once over, numerous strikes exploded in the Loire mining districts, at Lyons, and many other places. The economical facts revealed during these struggles between masters and men, struck the public eye like so many dissolving views of the high-coloured fancy pictures of working-class prosperity under the auspices of the Second Empire. The claims of redress on the part of the workmen were of so moderate a character, and so urgent a nature that, after some show of angry resistance, they had to be conceded, one and all. The only strange feature about those strikes was their sudden explosion after a seeming lull, and the rapid succession in which they followed each other. Still, the reason of all this was simple and palpable. Having, during the elections, successfully tried their hands against their public despot, the workmen were naturally led to try them after the elections against their private despots. In one word, the elections had stirred their animal spirits. The governmental press, of course, paid as it is to misstate and misinterpret unpleasant facts, traced these events to a secret *mot d'ordre* from the London General Council, which, they said, sent their emissaries, from place to place, to teach the otherwise highly satisfied French workmen that it was a bad thing to be overworked, underpaid, and brutally treated. A French police organ, published at London, the *"International"*—(see its number of August 3)—has condescended to reveal to the world the secret motives of our deleterious activity.

"The strangest feature," it says, "is that the strikes were ordered to break out in such countries where misery is far from making itself felt. These unexpected explosions, occurring so opportunely for certain neighbours of ours, who had first to apprehend war, make many people ask themselves whether these strikes took place on the request of some foreign Machiavelli, who had known how to win the good graces of this all-powerful Association."

At the very moment when this French police print impeached us of embarrassing the French Government by strikes at home, in order to disembarrass Count Bismarck from war abroad, a Prussian paper accused us of embarrassing the Northern German Bund with strikes, in order to crush German industry for the benefit of foreign manufactures.

The relations of the International to the French strikes we shall illustrate by two cases of a typical character. In the one case, the strike of St. Etienne and the following massacre at Ricamarie, the French Government itself will no longer dare to pretend that the International had anything whatever to do with it. In the Lyons case, it was not the International that threw the workmen into strikes, but, on the contrary, it was the strikes that threw the workmen into the International.

The miners of St. Etienne, Rive-de-Giers, and Firminy had calmly, but firmly, requested the managers of the mining companies to reduce the working day, numbering 12 hours hard underground labour, and revise the wages tariff. Failing in their attempt at a conciliatory settlement, they struck on the 11th of June. For them it was of course a vital question to secure the co-operation of the miners that had not yet turned out to combine with them. To prevent this, the managers of the mining companies requested and got from the Prefect of the Loire a forest of bayonets. On the 12th of June, the strikers found the coal pits under strong military guard. To make sure of the zeal of the soldiers thus lent to them by the government, the

mining companies paid each soldier a franc daily. The soldiers paid the companies back by catching, on the 16th June, about 60 miners eager to get at a conversation with their brethren in the coal pits. These prisoners were in the afternoon of the same day escorted to St. Etienne by a detachment (150 men), of the fourth regiment of the line. Before these stout warriors set out, an engineer of the Dorian mines distributed them 60 bottles of brandy, telling them at the same time, they ought to have a sharp eye on their prisoners' gang, these miners being savages, barbarians, ticket-of-leave men. What with the brandy, and what with the sermon, a bloody collision was thus prepared for. Followed on their march by a crowd of miners, with their wives and children, surrounded by them on a narrow defile on the heights of the Moncel, Quartier Ricamarie, requested to surrender the prisoners, and, on their refusal, attacked by a volley of stones, the soldiers, without any preliminary warning, fired with their *chasse-pots* pell-mell into the crowd, killing 15 persons, amongst whom were two women and an infant, and dangerously wounding a considerable number. The tortures of the wounded were horrible. One of the sufferers was a poor girl of 12 years, Jenny Petit, whose name will live immortal in the annals of the working-class martyrology. Struck by two balls from behind, one of which lodged in her leg, while the other passed through her back, broke her arm, and escaped through her right shoulder. "Les chasse-pots avaient encore fait merveille."[397]

This time, however, the government was not long in finding out that it had committed not only a crime, but a blunder. It was not hailed as the saviour of society by the middle class. The whole municipal council of St. Etienne tendered its resignation in a document, denouncing the scoundrelism of the troops, and insisting upon their removal from the town. The French press rung with cries of horror! Even such conservative prints as the *Moniteur*

universel opened subscriptions for the victims. The government *had* to remove the odious regiment from St. Etienne.

Under such difficult circumstances, it was a luminous idea to sacrifice on the altar of public indignation a scapegoat always at hand, the International Working Men's Association. At the judicial trial of the so-called rioters, the act of accusation divided them into 10 categories, very ingeniously shading their respective darkness of guilt. The first class, the most deeply tinged, consisted of workmen more particularly suspected to have obeyed some secret *mot d'ordre* from abroad, given out by the International. The evidence was, of course, overwhelming, as the following short extract from a French paper will show:

> "The interrogatory of the witnesses did not allow '*neatly*' to establish the participation of the International Association. The witnesses affirm *only* the presence, at the head of the bands, of some *unknown* people, wearing white frocks and caps. *None of the unknown ones have been arrested, or appear in the dock.* To the question: do you *believe* in the intervention of the International Association? a witness replies: I *believe* it, but *without any proofs whatever!*"

Shortly after the Ricamarie massacres, the dance of economical revolts was opened at Lyons by the silk-winders, most of them females. In their distress they appealed to the International, which, mainly by its members in France and Switzerland, helped them to carry the day. Despite all attempts at police intimidation, they publicly proclaimed their adhesion to our Society, and entered it formally by paying the statutory contributions to the General Council. At Lyons, as before at Rouen, the female workers played a noble and prominent part in the movement. Other Lyons trades have since followed in the track of the silk-winders. Some 10,000 new members were thus gained for us in a few weeks amongst that heroic population which more than thirty years ago inscribed upon its

banner the watchword of the modern Proletariat: "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant!"[398]

Meanwhile the French Government continues its petty tribulations against the International. At Marseilles our members were forbidden meeting for the election of a delegate to Basle. The same paltry trick was played in other towns. But the workmen on the Continent, as elsewhere, begin at last to understand that the surest way to get one's natural rights is to exercise them at one's personal risk.

The Austrian workmen, and especially those of Vienna, although entering their class movement only after the events of 1866, have at once occupied a vantage-ground. They marched at once under the banners of socialism and the International, which, by their delegates at the recent Eisenach Congress, they have now joined *en masse*.

If anywhere, the liberal middle class has exhibited in Austria its selfish instincts, its mental inferiority, and its petty spite against the working class. Their ministry, seeing the empire distracted and threatened by an internecine struggle of races and nationalities, pounces upon the workmen who alone proclaim the fraternity of all races and nationalities. The middle class itself, which has won its new position not by any heroism of its own, but only by the signal disaster of the Austrian army, hardly able as it is, and knows itself to be, to defend its new conquests from the attacks of the dynasty, the aristocracy, and the clerical party, nevertheless wastes its best energies in the mean attempt to debar the working class from the rights of combination, public meeting, free press and free thought. In Austria, as in all other states of continental Europe, the International has supplanted the *ci-devant spectre rouge*. When, on the 13th of July, a workmen's massacre on a small scale was enacted at Brünn, the cottonopolis of Moravia, the event was traced to the secret instigations of the International, whose agents, however, were unfor-

tunately invested with the rare gift of rendering themselves invisible. When some leaders of the Vienna work-people figured before the judicial bench, the public accuser stigmatised them as tools of the foreigner. Only, to show how conscientiously he had studied the matter, he committed the little error of confounding the middle-class League of Peace and Liberty with the working man's International Association.

If the workmen's movement was thus harassed in Cis-Leithanian Austria, it has been recklessly prosecuted in Hungary. On this point the most reliable reports from Pest and Pressburg have reached the General Council. One example of the treatment of the Hungarian workmen by the public authorities may suffice. Herr von Wenckheim, the Hungarian Home Minister, was just staying at Vienna on public business. Having for months been interdicted from public meetings and even from entertainments destined for the collection of the funds of a sick club, the Pressburg workmen sent at last delegates to Vienna, then and there to lay their grievances before the illustrious Herr von Wenckheim. Puffing and blowing his cigar, the illustrious one received them with the bullying apostrophe, "Are you workmen? Do you work hard? For nothing else you have to care. You do not want public clubs; and if you dabble in politics, we shall know what measures to take against you. I shall do nothing for you. Let the workmen grumble to their heart's content!" To the question of the workmen, whether the good pleasure of the police was still to rule uppermost, the liberal minister replied: "Yes, under my responsibility." After a somewhat prolonged but useless explanation the workmen left the minister telling him, "Since state matters influence the workmen's condition, the workmen must occupy themselves with politics, and they will certainly do so."

In Prussia and the rest of Germany, the past year was distinguished by the formation of trades unions all over

the country. At the recent Eisenach Congress the delegates of 150,000 German workmen, from Germany proper, Austria, and Switzerland, have organised a new democratic social party, with a programme literally embodying the leading principles of our Statutes. Debarred by law from forming sections of our Association, they have, nevertheless, formally entered it by resolving to take individual cards of membership from the General Council. At its congress at Barmen, the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein has also reaffirmed its adhesion to the principles of our Association, but simultaneously declared the Prussian law forbade them joining us.

New branches of our Association have sprung up at Naples, in Spain, and in Holland.

At Barcelona a Spanish, and at Amsterdam a Dutch organ of our Assocation is now being issued.*

The laurels plucked by the Belgian Government on the glorious battlefields of Seraing and Frameries seem really to have roused the angry jealousy of the Great Powers. No wonder, then, that *England* also had this year to boast a workman's massacre of its own. The Welsh coal-miners, at Leeswood Great Pit, near Mold, in Denbighshire, had received sudden notice of a reduction of wages by the manager of those works, whom, long since, they had reason to consider a most incorrigible petty oppressor. Consequently, they collected aid from the neighbouring collieries, and, besides assaulting him, attacked his house, and carried all his furniture to the railway station, these wretched men fancying in their childish ignorance thus to get rid of him for good and all. Proceedings were of course taken against the rioters; but one of them was rescued by a mob of 1,000 men, and conveyed out of the town. On the 28th May, two of the ringleaders were to be taken before the magistrates of Mold by policemen under

* *La Federacion* and *De Werkman*.—*Ed.*

the escort of a detachment of the 4th Regiment of the line, "The King's Own". A crowd of miners, trying to rescue the prisoners, and, on the resistance of the police and the soldiers, showering stones at them, the soldiers—without any previous warning—returned the shower of stones by a shower of bullets from their breachloaders (Snider fusils). Five persons, two of them females, were killed, and a great many wounded. So far there is much analogy between the Mold and the Ricamarie massacres, but here it ceases. In France, the soldiers were only responsible to their commander. In England, they had to pass through a coroner's jury inquest; but this coroner was a deaf and daft of fool, who had to receive the witnesses' evidence through an ear trumpet, and the Welsh jury, who backed him, were a narrowly prejudiced class jury. They declared the massacre "Justifiable Homicide".

In France, the rioters were sentenced from 3 to 18 months' imprisonment, and soon after, amnestied. In England, they were condemned to 10 years' penal servitude! In France, the whole press resounded with cries of indignation against the troops. In England, the press was all smiles for the soldiers, and all frowns for their victims! Still, the English workmen have gained much by losing a great and dangerous illusion. Till now they fancied to have their lives protected by the formality of the Riot Act, and the subordination of the military to the civil authorities. They know now, from the official declaration of Mr. Bruce, the liberal Home Minister, in the House of Commons—firstly, that without going through the premonitory process of reading the Riot Act, any country magistrate, some fox-hunter or parson, has the right to order the troops to fire on what he may please to consider a riotous mob; and, secondly, that the soldier may give fire on his own hook, on the plea of self-defence. The liberal Minister forgot to add that, under these circumstances, every man ought to be armed, at public

expense, with a breachloader, in self-defence against the soldier.

The following resolution was passed at the recent General Congress of the English Trades Unions at Birmingham:

"That as local organisations of labour have almost disappeared before organisations of a national character, so we believe the extension of the principle of free trade, which induces between nations such a competition that the interest of the workman is liable to be lost sight of and sacrificed in the fierce international race between capitalists, demands that such organisations should be still further extended and made international. And as the International Working Men's Association endeavours to consolidate and extend the interests of the toiling masses, which are everywhere identical, this Congress heartily recommends that Association to the support of the working men of the United Kingdom, especially of all organised bodies, and strongly urges them to become affiliated to that body, believing that the realisation of its principles would also conclude to lasting peace between the nations of the earth."

During last May, a war between the United States and England seemed imminent. Your General Council, therefore, sent an address to Mr. Sylvis, the President of the American National Labour Union, calling on the United States' working class to command peace where their would-be masters shouted war.*

The sudden death of Mr. Sylvis, that valiant champion of our cause, will justify us in concluding this report, as an homage to his memory, by his reply to our letter:

"Your favour of the 12th instant, with address enclosed, reached me yesterday. I am very happy to receive such kindly words from our fellow-working men across the water: our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth: labour occupies the same low condition, and capital is the same tyrant in all parts of the world. Therefore I say our cause is a common one. I, in behalf of the working people of the United States, extend to you, and through you to those you represent, and to all the downtrodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toil in Europe, the right hand of fellowship.

* See pp. 319-21 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Go ahead in the good work you have undertaken, until the most glorious success crowns your efforts. That is our determination. Our late war resulted in the building up of the most infamous monied aristocracy on the face of the earth. This monied power is fast eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win. If we can, we will win through the ballot-box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

By order of the Council,

R. APPLEGARTH, Chairman
COWELL STEPNEY, Treasurer
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary

Written by Karl Marx

Published in German as a separate pamphlet in Basle in September 1869, and in the pamphlet Report of the *Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland*, London, 1869

Published according to the text in the Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association

A TOUTES LES SECTIONS DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS*[399]

Le Conseil Général a reçu la lettre suivante:

New York, le 14 septembre 1869

AU CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL DE L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS

Messieurs,

Nous vous informons que la branche n° 1 de l'Union des ouvriers dominotiers de l'Etat de New York est pour le moment en grève pour une augmentation de salaire d'un ½ p.c. par rouleau aux couleurs à l'eau et d'un pour cent par rouleau aux couleurs à l'huile pour l'ouvrage aux pièces, et pour le travail à la semaine, de trois dollars (15 francs) pour toute espèce de couleurs.

Les patrons ayant l'intention de faire venir des ouvriers d'Europe, vous nous obligerez beaucoup en envoyant des avis dans les différentes contrées d'Europe, pour faire connaître la situation des ouvriers dominotiers.

Par ordre de la branche n° 1 de l'Union des ouvriers dominotiers de l'Etat de New York.

P. H. BROUGHTON, *président;*
JAMES FULLERTON, *secrétaire.*

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* See Appendix, p. 398.—*Ed.*

Toutes les sections sont chargées de prévenir, autant que possible, une pareille exportation des ouvriers dominotiers.

Au nom du Conseil Général
ROBERT APPLEGARTH, *président de la séance*
J. GEORGES ECCARIUS, *secrétaire général*

Londres, le 28 septembre 1869

Drawn up by Eccarius
Printed in *L'Internationale* No. 38, October 3, 1869

Published according to the newspaper text

FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

International Workingmen's Association.

The Fourth Annual Congress of the International Workingmen's Association will assemble on Monday September 6, 1869, at Bale, in Switzerland. The subjects for the deliberation of the Congress are as follows:

1. The [illegible] of landed property
2. The right to inheritance
3. To what extent can credit be [illegible] obtained by the working class?
4. The [illegible] of general education
5. The [illegible] of trades' [illegible] the organization of the working class

Order of proceeding: 1. Verification of Credentials. 2. Election of Congress Officers. 3. Report of the General Council, and Reports of the Sections and Branches. 4. Discussion of the subjects on the Programme. 5. Appointment of the Seat of the General Council for the ensuing year. 6. Election of the Members of the General Council. 7. Appointment of the time and place of meeting of the next Congress.

N.B.—The statistical inquiry into the condition of the working classes is still proceeding, contributions are solicited.

By order of the General Council,

EUGENE DUPONT, *Chairman.*
COWELL STEPNEY, *Treasurer.*
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, *General Secretary.*

Office—256, High Holborn, London, W.C.
June 22, 1869.

General Council's leaflet on the Basle Congress

ADDRESS OF THE LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND[400]

Fellow-Workers,

The fond hopes held out to the toiling and suffering millions of this country thirty years ago have not been realised. They were told that the removal of fiscal restrictions would make the lot of the labouring poor easy; if it could not render them happy and contented it would at least banish starvation for ever from their midst.

They rose a terrible commotion for the big loaf, the landlords became rampant, the money lords confounded, the factory lords rejoiced—their will was done—Protection received the *coup de grâce*. A period of the most marvellous prosperity followed. At first the Tories threatened to reverse the policy, but on mounting the ministerial benches, in 1852, instead of carrying out their threat, they joined the chorus in praise of unlimited competition. Prepared for a pecuniary loss they discovered to their utter astonishment that the rent-roll was swelling at the rate of more than £2,000,000 a year. Never in the history of the human race was there so much wealth—means to satisfy the wants of man—produced by so few hands, and in so short a time, as since the abolition of the Corn Laws. During the lapse of twenty years the declared value of the annual exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures—the fruits of your own labour—rose from

£60,000,000 to £188,900,000. In twenty years the taxable income of the lords and ladies of the British soil increased, upon their own confession, from £98,000,000 to £140,000,000 a year; that of the chiefs of trades and professions from £60,000,000 to £110,000,000 a year. Could human efforts accomplish more?

Alas! there are stepchildren in Britania's family. No Chancellor of the Exchequer has yet divulged the secret how the £140,000,000 are distributed amongst the territorial magnates, but we know all about the trades-folk. The special favourites increased from sixteen, in 1846, to one hundred and thirty-three, in 1866. Their average annual income rose from £74,300 to £100,600 each. They appropriated one-fourth of the twenty years' increase. The next of kin increased from three hundred and nineteen to nine hundred and fifty-nine individuals: their average annual income rose from £17,700 to £19,300 each: they appropriated another fourth. The remaining half was distributed amongst three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight respectables, whose annual income ranged between £100 and £10,000 sterling. The toiling millions, the producers of that wealth—Britania's cinderellas—got cuffs and kicks instead of halfpence.

In the year 1864 the taxable income under schedule D[401] increased by £9,200,000. Of that increase the metropolis, with less than an eigth of the population, absorbed £4,266,000, nearly a half. £3,123,000 of that, more than a third of the increase of Great Britain, was absorbed by the City of London, by the favourites of the one hundred and seventy-ninth part of the British population: Mile End and the Tower, with a working population four times as numerous, got £175,000. The citizens of London are smothered with gold; the householders of the Tower Hamlets are overwhelmed by poor-rates. The citizens, of course, object to centralisation of poor-rates purely on the principle of local self-government.

During the ten years ending 1861 the operatives employed in the cotton trade increased 12 per cent; their produce 103 per cent. The iron miners increased 6 per cent; the produce of the mines 37 per cent. Twenty thousand iron miners worked for ten mine owners. During the same ten years the agricultural labourers of England and Wales diminished by eighty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven, and yet, during that period, several hundred thousand acres of common land were enclosed and transformed into private property to enlarge the estates of the nobility, and the same process is still going on.

In twelve years the rental liable to be rated to the poor in England and Wales rose from £86,700,000 to £118,300,000: the number of adult able-bodied paupers increased from one hundred and forty-four thousand five hundred to one hundred and eighty-five thousand six hundred.

These are no fancy pictures, originating in the wild speculations of hot brained incorrigibles; they are the confessions of landlords and money lords, recorded in their own blue books. One of their experts told the House of Lords the other day that the propertied classes, after faring sumptuously, laid by £150,000,000 a year out of the produce of your labour. A few weeks later the president of the Royal College of Surgeons related to a jury, assembled to inquire into the causes of eight untimely deaths, what he saw in the foul ward of St. Pancras.

Hibernia's favourites too have multiplied, and their income has risen, while a sixth of her toiling sons and daughters perished by famine, and its consequent diseases, and a third of the remainder were evicted, ejected and expatriated by tormenting felonious usurpers.

This period of unparalleled industrial prosperity has landed thousands of our fellow-toilers—honest, unsophisticated, hard-working men and women—in the stone yard

and the oakum room; the roast beef of their dreams has turned into skilly. Hundreds of thousands, men, women and children are wandering about—homeless, degraded outcasts—in the land that gave them birth, crowding the cities and towns, and swarming the highroads in the country in search of work to obtain food and shelter, without being able to find any. Other thousands, more spirited than honest, are walking the treadmill to expiate little thefts, preferring prison discipline to workhouse fare, while the wholesale swindlers are at large, and felonious landlords preside at quarter sessions to administer the laws. Thousands of the young and strong cross the seas, flying from their native firesides, like from an exterminating plague; the old and feeble perish on the roadside of hunger and cold. The hospitals and infirmaries are overcrowded with fever and famine-stricken: death from starvation has become an ordinary every-day occurrence.

All parties are agreed that the sufferings of the labouring poor were never more intense, and misery so widespread, nor the means of satisfying the wants of man ever so abundant as at present. This proves above all that the moral foundation of all civil government, "*that the welfare of the entire community is the highest law, and ought to be the aim and end of all civil legislation*", has been utterly disregarded. Those who preside over the destinies of the nation have either wantonly neglected their primary duty while attending to the special interests of the rich to make them richer, or their social position, their education, their class prejudices have incapacitated them from doing their duty to the community at large or applying the proper remedies, in either case they have betrayed their trust.

Class government is only possible on the condition that those who are held in subjection are secured against positive want. The ruling classes have failed to secure the industrious wages-labourer in the prime of his life against hunger and death from starvation. Their remedies have

signally failed, their promises have not been fulfilled. They promised retrenchment, they have enormously increased the public expenditure instead. They promised to lift the burden of taxation from your shoulders, the rich pay but a fractional part of the increased expenses; the rest is levied upon your necessaries—even your pawn tickets are taxed—to keep up a standing army, drawn from your own ranks, to shoot you down if you show signs of disaffection. They promised to minimise pauperism: they have made indigence and destitution your average condition—the big loaf has dwindled into no loaf. Every remedy they have applied has but aggravated the evil, and they have no other to suggest,—their rule is doomed. To continue is to involve all in a common ruin. There is but one,—and only one,—remedy. Help Yourselves! Determine that you will not endure this abominable state of things any longer; act up to your determination, and it will vanish.

A few weeks ago a score of London working men talked the matter over. They came to the conclusion that the present economical basis of society was the foundation of all the existing evils,—that nothing short of a transformation of the existing social and political arrangements could avail, and that such a transformation could only be effected by the toiling millions themselves. They embodied their conclusions in a series of resolutions, and called a conference of representative working men, to whom they were submitted for consideration. In three consecutive meetings those resolutions were discussed and unanimously adopted. To carry them out a new working men's organisation, under the title of the "*Land and Labour League*", was established. An executive council of upwards of forty well-known representative working men was appointed to draw up a platform of principles arising out of the preliminary resolutions adopted by the conference, to serve as the programme of agitation by means of which a radical change can be effected.

After mature consideration the Council agreed to the following:

1. Nationalisation of the Land.
2. Home Colonisation.
3. National, Secular, Gratuitous and Compulsory Education.
4. Suppression of Private Banks of Issue. The State Only to Issue Paper Money.
5. A Direct and Progressive Property Tax, in Lieu of All Other Taxes.
6. Liquidation of the National Debt.
7. Abolition of the Standing Army.
8. Reduction of the Number of the Hours of Labour.
9. Equal Electoral Rights, with Payment of Members.

The success of our efforts will depend upon the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the powers that be, and this requires numbers, union, organisation and combination. We therefore call upon you to unite, organise and combine, and raise the cry throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, "*The Land for the People*"—the rightful inheritors of nature's gifts. No rational state of society can leave the land, which is the source of life, under the control of, and subject to the whims and caprices of, a few private individuals. A government elected by, and as trustee for, the whole people is the only power that can manage it for the benefit of the entire community.

Insist upon the State reclaiming the unoccupied lands as a beginning of its nationalisation, and placing the unemployed upon it. Let not another acre of common land be enclosed for the private purposes of non-producers. Compel the Government to employ the army, until its final dissolution, as a pioneer force to weed, drain and level the wastes for cultivation, instead of forming encampments to prepare for the destruction of life. If green fields and kitchen gardens are incompatible with the noble sport of hunting let the hunters emigrate.

Make the Nine points of the League the Labour programme, the touchstone by which you test the quality of candidates for parliamentary honours, and if you find them spurious reject them like a counterfeit coin, for he who is not for them is against you.

You are swindled out of the fruits of your toil by land laws, money laws, and all sorts of laws. Out of the paltry pittance that is left you, you have to pay the interest of a debt that was incurred to keep your predecessors in subjection; you have to maintain a standing army that serves no other purpose in your generation, and you are systematically overworked when employed, and underfed at all times. Nothing but a series of such radical reforms as indicated on our programme will ever lift you out of the slough of despond in which you are at present sunk. The difficulty can be overcome by unity of purpose and action. We are many; our opponents are few. Then working men and women of all creeds and occupations claim your rights as with one voice, and rally round, and unite your forces under, the banner of the "*Land and Labour League*" to conquer your own emancipation!

JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer*
MARTIN J. BOON, J. GEORGE ECCARIUS } *Secretaries*

Drawn up by Eccarius about November 14, 1869

Published as a pamphlet, *Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1869

Published according to the pamphlet

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE NEW DEMOCRACY OF NEW YORK[402]

Fellow-Workers,

We have received your communication of Oct. 11, and rejoice to perceive that our invitation, addressed to the President of the National Labour Union, the late Mr. Sylvis, has been widely circulated in America. That it had the desired effect, and that the representatives of labour in the New World formed a just estimate of the importance of drawing the ties of Union closer than they have been hitherto, was proved by the fact of the Labour Congress of Philadelphia sending a delegate to our Congress at Basle. You state "that from the tenor of our address it would seem that the European working men would believe that the Unions represented in that convention are composed of the most advanced practical advocates of the rights of Labour in America", and you go on to assert that such a belief is unfounded. This may, or may not be so. As Council of the International Working Men's Association our duty is to endeavour to connect and combine the various labour organisations all over the world, independent of any particular views, doctrines, or even shortcomings that may prevail in the advocacy of labour's rights here and there. Our end is the complete political, social, and economical emancipation of labour; our conviction is that this must be the work of the working millions themselves. Our main endeavour therefore must be to combine the scattered and isolated local and national movements to

present an unbroken front to the enemy. In appealing to the President of the National Labour Union we invited the working population of America to co-operate with the labouring millions of Europe. By what particular means the Americans choose to advance is no concern of ours. Practice will ever remain behind theory, and the great mass of the population moves but slowly, step by step. Provided it be in the right direction, the goal will be reached.

If the proceedings at Basle were theoretically in advance of the proceedings at Philadelphia, you must bear in mind that there were delegates at Basle whose constituents have not yet succeeded in acquiring the liberty of meeting to discuss their grievances. Both in France and Germany meetings can only be held by special permissions from the police and in the presence of police officials, who have the power of stopping the proceedings whenever they like, and frequently do so whenever any practical propositions are made.

The business of advanced thinkers is to educate the masses up to the desired point, and unite and combine with them and lend their assistance to carry out whatever may be practical. However deficient the masses may be in theoretical knowledge, their natural instinct generally leads them in the right path in practice.

We welcome the establishment of the New Democracy as an organised agency to aid the labour movement of the United States, and shall be happy to enter into regular correspondence with you.

The more intimate the connections between the New World and the Old the more weight will attach to our demands, and the more firmly we can insist upon our rights being conceded.

Drawn up by Eccarius and approved at a General Council meeting on November 23, 1869

Published in *The Bee-Hive*, November 27, 1869

Published according to *The Bee-Hive*

LE CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL AU CONSEIL FÉDÉRAL DE LA SUISSE ROMANDE*[403]

Dans sa séance extraordinaire du 1 janvier 1870 le *Conseil Général* a résolu:

1) Nous lisons dans "l'Egalité" du 11 décembre 1869:

"Il est *certain* qu'il (le Conseil Général) néglige des choses extrêmement importantes.... Nous les (les *obligations* du Conseil Général) lui rappelons avec l'article premier du règlement, etc.: "Le Conseil Général est *obligé* d'exécuter les résolutions du Congrès".... "*Nous aurions assez de questions à poser au Conseil Général pour que ses réponses* constituent un assez long bulletin. *Elles viendront plus tard*" ... "En attendant" ... etc.".....

Le Conseil Général ne connaît pas d'article, soit dans les statuts soit dans les règlements, qui l'*obligeât* d'entrer en correspondance ou en polémique avec *L'Egalité* ou de faire *des "réponses" aux "questions"* "des journaux". Ce n'est que le *Conseil Fédéral* de la Suisse Romande qui vis-à-vis du Conseil Général, représente les branches de la Suisse Romande. Lorsque le Conseil Fédéral Romand nous adressera des demandes ou des réprimandes par la seule voie légitime, c'est-à-dire par son *secrétaire*, le Conseil Général sera toujours prêt à y répondre. Mais le *Conseil Fédéral Romand* n'a le droit ni d'*abdiquer* ses fonctions dans les mains de *L'Egalité* et du *Progrès*, ni de laisser ces journaux *usurper* ses fonctions. Généralement parlant, la correspondance du Conseil Général avec les comités nationaux et locaux ne pourrait pas être publiée sans porter grand préjudice pour l'intérêt général de l'Associa-

* See Appendix, pp. 399-407.—*Ed.*

tion. Donc, si les autres organes de l'Internationale imitaient *Le Progrès* et *L'Egalité*, le Conseil Général se trouverait placé dans l'alternative, ou de se discréditer devant le public en se taisant ou de violer ses devoirs en répondant publiquement*.

L'Egalité se joint au *Progrès* (journal qui n'est pas envoyé au Conseil Général) pour inviter *Le Travail* (journal parisien qui jusqu'ici ne s'est pas déclaré organe de l'*Internationale* et qui n'est pas envoyé non plus au Conseil Général) de faire sommation au Conseil Général**. C'est presque une Ligue du bien public.[404]

2) Admettant que les questions posées par *L'Egalité* procèdent du Conseil Fédéral Romand nous allons y répondre à condition qu'à l'avenir de telles questions ne nous parviennent pas par cette voie.

3) *Question du Bulletin.* Dans les résolutions du Congrès de Lausanne*** insérées dans les règlements, il est prescrit que les comités nationaux enverront au Conseil Général des *documents* sur le mouvement prolétaire et qu'ensuite le Conseil Général publiera un bulletin dans les *différentes langues* aussi souvent *que ses moyens le lui permettront* (*"As often as its means permit,* the General Council shall publish a report, etc.").

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* In the manuscript, after the word "publiquement", Marx had crossed out the words: "*Le Progrès* (qui n'est pas envoyé au Conseil Général comme il *devrait* l'être d'après les résolutions trois fois réitérées des Congrès Généraux) a pris l'initiative dans l'usurpation des fonctions du Conseil Fédéral".—*Ed.*

** The manuscript has the following words crossed out: "les mêmes personnes qui l'année passée immédiatement après leur entrée tardive dans notre Association, formaient le projet dangereux de fonder au milieu de l'Association Internationale, des Travailleurs une autre Association Internationale, sous leur contrôle personnel, et siégeant à Genève, ont repris leur projet et croient toujours à leur mission spéciale d'usurper la direction suprême de l'Association Internationale. Le Conseil Général rappelle au Conseil Fédéral Romand qu'il est *responsable* de la question des journaux *L'Egalité* et *Le Progrès*".—*Ed.*

*** A mistake. Should read "Genève".—*Ed.*

L'obligation du Conseil Général était donc liée à des *conditions* qui n'ont jamais été remplies, même l'enquête statistique, ordonnée par les statuts, décidée par des Congrès Généraux, consécutifs, annuellement demandée par le Conseil Général, n'a jamais été faite. Aucun document n'a été remis au Conseil Général. Quant aux *moyens*, le Conseil Général aurait depuis longtemps cessé d'exister sans les contributions "régionales" de l'Angleterre et sans les sacrifices personnels de ses membres.

Ainsi le règlement, passé au Congrès de Lausanne,* a été une lettre morte**.

Quant au Congrès de Bâle, il n'a pas discuté l'*exécution* de ce règlement existant, il a discuté l'opportunité d'un bulletin à faire *et il n'a pris aucune résolution* (voir le *rapport allemand* imprimé à Bâle sous les yeux du Congrès[405]).

Du reste le Conseil Général croit que le but primitif du bulletin est en ce moment parfaitement rempli par les différents organes de l'*Internationale* publiés dans les différentes langues et s'échangeant entre eux. Il serait absurde de faire par des bulletins coûteux ce qui se fait déjà sans frais. De l'autre côté, un bulletin qui publierait ce qui ne se dit pas dans les organes de l'*Internationale* ne servirait qu'à admettre nos ennemis dans les coulisses.

4) *Question de la séparation du Conseil Général d'avec le Conseil Régional pour l'Angleterre.*

Longtemps avant la fondation de *L'Egalité* cette proposition se faisait périodiquement au sein même du Conseil Général par un ou deux de ses membres anglais. Elle a toujours été rejetée presque unanimement.

Quoique l'*initiative* révolutionnaire partira probable-

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* A mistake. Should read "Genève".—*Ed.*

** In the manuscript, after the words "lettre morte", the following is crossed out: "Il a été traité comme tel par le Congrès de Bâle."—*Ed.*

ment de la France, l'Angleterre seule peut servir de *levier* pour une Révolution sérieusement *économique*. C'est le seul pays où il n'y a plus de paysans et où la propriété foncière est concentrée en peu de mains. C'est le seul pays où la *forme capitaliste*, c'est-à-dire le travail combiné sur une grande échelle sous des maîtres capitalistes, s'est emparée de presque toute la production. C'est le seul pays *où la grande majorité de la population consiste en ouvriers salariés* (wages labourers). C'est le seul pays où la lutte des classes et l'organisation de la classe ouvrière par des *Trades Unions* ont *acquis* un certain degré de maturité et d'universalité. A cause de sa domination sur le marché du monde, c'est le seul pays où chaque révolution dans les faits économiques doit immédiatement réagir sur tout le monde. Si le landlordisme et le capitalisme ont leur siège classique dans ce pays, par contre coup, les *conditions matérielles* de leur *destruction* sont le plus mûries. Le Conseil Général étant placé à présent dans la position *heureuse d'avoir la main directement sur ce grand levier de la révolution prolétaire*, quelle folie, nous dirions presque quel crime, de le laisser tomber dans les mains purement anglaises !

Les Anglais ont toute la *matière* nécessaire à la révolution sociale. Ce qui leur manque, c'est *l'esprit généralisateur et la passion révolutionnaire*. C'est seulement le Conseil Général qui y peut suppléer, qui peut ainsi accélérer le mouvement vraiment révolutionnaire dans ce pays, et par conséquent *partout*. Les grands effets que nous avons déjà produits dans ce sens, sont attestés par les journaux les plus intelligents et les mieux accrédités auprès des classes dominantes, comme p.e. le *Pall Mall Gazette*, le *Saturday Review*, le *Spectator* et le *Fortnightly Review* pour ne pas parler des membres soi-disant radicaux des *Commons* et des *Lords* qui, il y a peu de temps, exerçaient encore une grande influence sur les leaders des ouvriers anglais. Ils nous accusent publiquement d'avoir

empoisonné et presque éteint *l'esprit anglais* de la classe ouvrière et de l'avoir poussée dans le socialisme révolutionnaire.

La seule manière de produire ce changement, c'est en agissant comme le *Conseil Général* de l'*Association Internationale*. Comme Conseil Général nous pouvons initier les mesures (p.e. la fondation de la *Land and Labour League)* qui plus tard se produisent dans l'exécution devant le public comme des mouvements spontanés de la classe ouvrière anglaise.

Si un *Conseil Régional* était formé en dehors du *Conseil Général* quels seraient les effets immédiats?

Placé entre le *Conseil Général* et le *Conseil Général des Trades Unions*, le *Conseil Régional* n'aurait aucune autorité. De l'autre côté, le *Conseil Général de l'Internationale*, perdrait le maniement *du grand levier*. Si à l'action sérieuse et souterraine nous aimions à substituer l'éclat des tréteaux, nous aurions peut-être commis la faute de répondre publiquement à la question de *L'Egalité*, pourquoi le *Conseil Général* subit ce cumul si fâcheux de fonctions!"

L'Angleterre ne doit pas être simplement traitée comme un pays auprès des autres pays. — Elle doit être traitée comme la *métropole du capital*.

5) *Question sur la Résolution du Conseil Général à propos de l'amnistie Irlandaise**.

Si l'Angleterre est le bulwark du landlordisme et du capitalisme européens, le seul point où on peut frapper le grand coup contre l'Angleterre officielle, *c'est l'Irlande*.

En premier lieu, l'Irlande est le *bulwark* de landlordisme anglais. S'il tombait en Irlande, il tomberait en Angleterre. En Irlande, l'opération est cent fois plus facile, parce que *la lutte économique y est exclusivement concentrée sur la propriété foncière*, parce que cette lutte y est en même temps nationale, et parce que le peuple y est plus

* See p. 183 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

révolutionnaire et plus exaspéré qu'en Angleterre. Le landlordisme en Irlande se maintient exclusivement par *l'armée anglaise.* Du moment que l'*union forcée* entre les deux pays viendrait à cesser, une révolution sociale, quoique dans des formes arriérées, y éclaterait immédiatement en Irlande. Le landlordisme anglais ne perdrait pas seulement une grande source de ses richesses, mais encore sa plus *grande force morale,* c'est-à-dire celle de *représenter la domination de l'Angleterre sur l'Irlande.* De l'autre côté, en maintenant le pouvoir de ses landlords en Irlande, le prolétariat anglais les rend invulnérables dans l'Angleterre elle-même.

En deuxième lieu, la bourgeoisie anglaise n'a pas seulement exploité la misère irlandaise pour rabaisser par l'*immigration forcée* des pauvres Irlandais la classe ouvrière en Angleterre. Mais elle a en outre divisé le prolétariat en deux camps hostiles. Le feu révolutionnaire de l'ouvrier celte ne se combine pas avec la nature solide, mais lente de l'ouvrier anglo-saxon, il y a au contraire dans tous *les grands centres industriels de l'Angleterre* un antagonisme profond entre le prolétaire irlandais et le prolétaire anglais. L'ouvrier anglais vulgaire hait l'ouvrier irlandais comme un compétiteur qui déprime les salaires et le *standard of life.* Il sent pour lui des antipathies nationales et religieuses. Il le regarde à peu près comme les *poor whites* des Etats méridionaux de l'Amérique du Nord regardaient des esclaves noirs. Cet antagonisme parmi les prolétaires de l'Angleterre elle-même est artificiellement nourri et entretenu par la bourgeoisie. Elle sait que cette scission est le véritable secret du maintien de son pouvoir.

Encore cet antagonisme se reproduit au-delà de l'Atlantique. Les Irlandais, chassés de leur sol natal par des *bœufs* et des moutons, se retrouvent dans l'Amérique du Nord où ils constituent une portion formidable et toujours croissante de la population. Leur seule pensée, leur seule passion, c'est la haine de l'Angleterre. Le gouvernement

anglais et le gouvernement américain (c'est-à-dire les classes qu'ils représentent) alimentent ces passions pour éterniser la lutte souterraine entre les Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre; c'est ainsi qu'ils empêchent l'alliance sincère et sérieuse, par conséquent toute émancipation des classes ouvrières des deux côtés de l'Atlantique.

Encore, l'Irlande est le seul prétexte du gouvernement anglais pour entretenir une *grande armée permanente* qui, au cas de besoin, comme cela s'est vu, est lancée sur les ouvriers anglais après avoir fait ses études soldatesques en Irlande.

Enfin ce que nous a montré l'ancienne Rome sur une échelle monstrueuse se répète en Angleterre de nos jours. Le peuple qui subjugue un autre peuple se forge ses propres chaînes.

Donc la position de l'Association Internationale vis-à-vis de la question irlandaise est très nette. Son premier besoin est de pousser la révolution sociale en Angleterre. A cet effet, il faut frapper le grand coup en Irlande*.

Les résolutions du Conseil Général sur l'amnistie irlandaise ne servent qu'à introduire d'autres résolutions qui affirmeront que, abstraction faite de toute justice internationale, c'est une condition *préliminaire de l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière anglaise,* de transformer la présente *union forcée* (c'est-à-dire l'esclavage de l'Irlande) en *confédération égale et libre,* s'il se peut, en *séparation complète,* s'il le faut**.

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* After the words "en Irlande" the manuscript has the following words crossed out: "et exploiter de toutes les manières possibles la lutte économico-nationale des Irlandais".—*Ed.*

** After "le faut" in the manuscript, the following words are crossed out: "Les difficultés et même les dangers personnels que le Conseil Général encourt en se plaçant sur ce terrain peuvent se juger par le fait que le *Bee-Hive* dans le compte rendu de nos séances a non seulement supprimé *nos résolutions,* mais même le fait que le Conseil Général s'occupait de la question irlandaise, ce qui l'a forcé de faire imprimer ses résolutions, pour les envoyer à toutes les *Trades Unions* séparément. Libre maintenant aux oracles de *L'Ega-*

Du reste les doctrines plus que naïves de *L'Egalité* et du *Progrès* sur la connexion ou plutôt la non-connexion entre le mouvement social et le mouvement politique n'ont jamais, à ce que nous sachions, été canonisées par aucun de nos Congrès Internationaux. Elles sont contraires à nos statuts. On y lit :

"*That the Economical emancipation* of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every *political movement ought* to be subordinate *as a means.*"

Ces mots "*as a means*", "*comme moyen*", ont été supprimés dans la traduction française faite en 1864 par le comité de Paris.[406] Interpellé par le Conseil Général, le comité de Paris s'excusa par les misères de sa situation politique.

Il y a d'autres mutilations du texte authentique. Le premier considérant des statuts est ainsi conçu : "the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means ... a struggle ... for equal rights and duties, and the *abolition of all class rule*".

La traduction parisienne reproduit les "droits et devoirs égaux", c.-à-d. la phrase générale, qui se trouve à peu près *dans tous les manifestes démocratiques* depuis un siècle et qui a un sens différent dans la bouche des différentes classes, mais elle supprime la chose concrète, "*the abolition of all class rule*" (l'abolition des classes).

Encore dans le deuxième considérant des statuts on lit : "That the economical subjection of the *man of labour* to the *monopoliser of the means of labour*, that is *the sources of life*, etc."

La traduction parisienne met "*capital*" ou bien "*the means of labour, that is the sources of life*", expression

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lité de dire que c'est un « *mouvement politique local* », qu'elle veut bien permettre à un *Conseil Régional* de s'occuper de ces bagatelles, et qu'il ne faut pas « *améliorer* les gouvernements actuels ». Elle aurait pu dire avec le même droit que nous avions l'intention « *d'améliorer* le gouvernement belge » en dénonçant ses massacres".—*Ed.*

qui inclut la terre aussi bien que les autres moyens du travail.

Du reste, le texte primitif et authentique a été restoré dans la traduction française publiée à Bruxelles par la *Rive Gauche* (1866) et imprimée comme pamphlet[407].

6) *Question Liebknecht-Schweitzer.*

L'Egalité dit:

"Ces deux groupes sont de l'Internationale."

C'est faux. Le groupe d'Eisenach (que le *Progrès* et *L'Egalité* veulent bien transformer en groupe du citoyen Liebknecht) appartient à l'*Internationale. Le groupe de Schweitzer n'y appartient pas.*

Schweitzer a même longuement expliqué dans son journal *(Social-Demokrat)* pourquoi l'organisation lassallienne ne pourrait s'englober dans l'*Internationale* sans se détruire elle-même[408]—sans le savoir il a dit la verité. Son organisation factice *de secte* est opposée à l'*organisation historique et spontanée* de la *classe* ouvrière.

Le *Progrès* et *L'Egalité* ont sommé le Conseil Général de donner publiquement son «*avis*» sur les différends personnels de Liebknecht et Schweitzer. Comme le citoyen *Johann Philipp Becker* (qui est aussi bien *calomnié* dans le journal de Schweitzer que Liebknecht) est un des membres *du comité de la rédaction de L'Egalité,* il paraît vraiment étrange que ses éditeurs ne soient pas mieux informés sur les faits. Ils devraient savoir que Liebknecht, dans le *Volksstaat**, a publiquement invité Schweitzer à prendre le Conseil Général par *l'arbitre de leurs différends,*[409] et que Schweitzer non moins publiquement a répudié l'autorité du Conseil Général[410].

Le Conseil Général de sa part n'a rien négligé pour mettre fin à ce scandale. Il a chargé son secrétaire pour l'Allemagne de correspondre avec Schweitzer, ce qui a été fait pendant deux années, mais toutes les tentations du

* A mistake. Should read *Democratisches Wochenblatt.*—*Ed.*

Conseil ont échoué grâce à la résolution bien prise de Schweitzer de conserver à tout prix avec l'organisation de secte son pouvoir autocrate. C'est au Conseil Général à déterminer le moment favorable où son intervention publique dans cette querrelle sera plus utile que nuisible.

7) Comme les accusations de *L'Egalité* sont publiques et pourraient être considérées comme émanant du Comité Romand de Genève, le Conseil Général communiquera cette réponse à tous les comités correspondant avec lui.

Par ordre du Conseil Général

Written by Karl Marx about January 1, 1870

Published in part in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*. Genève, 1872.

Published according to the MS copy made by Marx's wife, Jenny Marx, and checked by the author

NÉCROLOGIE*[411]

Le citoyen Robert Shaw, correspondant du Conseil Général de Londres pour l'Amérique du Nord et un des fondateurs de l'Internationale, est mort cette semaine de phtisie pulmonaire.

C'était un des membres les plus actifs du Conseil. Cœur pur, caractère de fer, tempérament impétueux, intelligence vraiment révolutionnaire, au-dessus de toute petitesse d'ambition ou d'intérêt personnels. Pauvre ouvrier, il savait toujours trouver un ouvrier plus pauvre que lui à secourir. Doux comme un enfant dans le commerce personnel, il rejeta avec hauteur toutes sortes de compromis dans sa vie publique. C'est principalement grâce à ses efforts continus que les *Trades Unions* se sont ralliées autour de nous. Mais cette œuvre même lui faisait beaucoup d'ennemis implacables. Les *Trades Unions* anglaises, toutes d'origine locale, toutes primitivement fondées dans la vue exclusive de maintenir les salaires, etc., étaient absolument plus ou moins affligées de l'étroitesse qui caractérisait les corps de métier du moyen âge. Il y avait un petit parti conservateur qui voulait à tout prix conserver les bornes primitives de l'unionisme. Dès la fondation de l'Internationale, Shaw se fit le but de sa vie de briser ces chaînes volontaires et de transformer les unions en des centres organisés de la Révolution prolétaire. Le succès couronna presque toujours ses efforts, mais aussi, dès ce

* See Appendix, pp. 408-09.—*Ed.*

moment, sa vie devenait une lutte terrible, dans laquelle sa faible santé devait succomber. Il était déjà mourant quand il partit pour le Congrès de Bruxelles (septembre 1868). Après son retour, ses bons maîtres bourgeois le mirent au ban de tous leurs ateliers. Il laisse une femme et une fille dans la pauvreté, mais les ouvriers anglais ne les laisseront pas sans ressources.

Written by Karl Marx about January 8, 1870

Published according to the newspaper text

Printed in *L'Internationale* No. 53, January 16, 1870

ГЛАВНЫЙ СОВЕТ* МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ТОВАРИЩЕСТВА РАБОЧИХ — ЧЛЕНАМ КОМИТЕТА РУССКОЙ СЕКЦИИ В ЖЕНЕВЕ**[412]

Граждане!

В своем заседании 22 марта Главный Совет объявил, единодушным вотумом, что ваша программа и статут согласны с общими статутами Международного Товарищества Рабочих. Он поспешил принять вашу ветвь в состав Интернационала ***. Я с удовольствием принимаю почетную обязанность, которую вы мне предлагаете, быть вашим представителем при Главном Совете.

Вы говорите в вашей программе:

«... что императорское иго, гнетущее Польшу, есть тормоз, одинаково препятствующий политической и социальной свободе обоих народов — как русского, так и польского».

Вы могли бы прибавить, что русский насильственный захват Польши есть пагубная опора и настоящая причина существования военного режима в Германии, и вследствие того, на целом континенте. Поэтому, работая над разбитием цепей Польши, русские социалисты возлагают на себя высокую задачу, заключающуюся в том уничтожении военного режима, которое существенно необходимо как предварительное условие для общего освобождения европейского пролетариата.

Несколько месяцев тому назад мне прислали из Петербурга сочинение Флеровского «Положение рабочего

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* The General Council.—*Ed.*

** See Appendix, pp. 410-11.—*Ed.*

*** See pp. 219-20 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

класса в России». Это настоящее открытие для Европы. *Русский оптимизм*, распространенный на континенте даже так называемыми революционерами, беспощадно разоблачен в этом сочинении. Достоинство его не пострадает, если я скажу, что оно в некоторых местах не вполне удовлетворяет критике с точки зрения чисто теоретической. Это — труд серьезного наблюдателя, бесстрашного труженика, беспристрастного критика, мощного художника и, прежде всего, человека, возмущенного против гнета во всех его видах, не терпящего всевозможных национальных гимнов и страстно делящего все страдания и все стремления производительного класса.

Такие труды, как Флеровского и как вашего учителя Чернышевского, делают действительную честь России и доказывают, что ваша страна тоже начинает участвовать в общем движении нашего века.

Привет и братство.

Карл Маркс

Лондон, 24 марта 1870 г.

Printed in the newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo* No. 1, Geneva, April 15, 1870

Published according to the newspaper text

DÉCISION DU CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL

Le Conseil Général au Comité fédéral romand[*413]

Considérant

Que, quoiqu'une majorité de délégués au Congrès de la Chaux-de-Fonds, ait nommé un nouveau Comité fédéral romand, cette majorité n'était que nominale;

Que le Comité fédéral romand, à Genève, ayant toujours rempli ses obligations envers le Conseil Général et envers l'Association internationale des Travailleurs, et s'étant toujours conformé aux Statuts de l'association, le Conseil Général n'a pas le droit de lui enlever son titre.

Le Conseil Général, dans son assemblée du 28 juin 1870, a unanimement résolu que le Comité fédéral romand, siégeant à Genève, conserverait son titre, et que le Comité fédéral, siégeant à la Chaux-de-Fonds, adopterait tel autre titre local qu'il lui plairait d'adopter.

Au nom et par ordre du Conseil Général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs,

H. JUNG,
Secrétaire pour la Suisse

Londres, le 29 juin 1870

Written by Karl Marx

Printed in *Le Mirabeau* No. 53. July 24, 1870

Published according to the newspaper text

* See Appendix, p. 412.—*Ed.*

THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONGRESS

OF THE

International Working Men's Association.

The International Working Men's Congress of 1870 will be held in the City of

MAYENCE-ON-THE-RHINE.

The delegates are requested to assemble on

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, AT NINE O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON,

IN

THE MARBLE HALL,

Which the Burgomaster of the City has kindly placed at the disposal of the Association during the Session of the Congress.

PROGRAMME.

1.—Abolition of public debts, with an equitable compensation.

2.—On the connection between the political action and the social movement of the working class.

3.—Practical ways and means of converting land into common property.

4.—Conversion of all note-issuing banks into national banks.

5.—On the conditions of co-operative production on a national scale.

6.—Necessity of carrying out the resolutions of the Geneva Congress of 1866 respecting the *Statistics of Labour*.

7.—Reconsideration by the Congress of the means to suppress war.

By order of the General Council,

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT, *Chairman*.
JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer*.
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, *General Secretary*.

256, High Holborn, London, W.C.
July 12, 1870.

The programme of the congress of the International to be held in Mainz in September 1870

THE LOCK-OUT OF THE BUILDING TRADES AT GENEVA[414]

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

Fellow-Workers,

The Master Builders of Geneva have, after mature consideration, arrived at the conclusion that "the entire Freedom of Labour" is best calculated to promote the happiness of the labouring poor. In order to secure this blessing to their work-people, they resolved to carry into practice, on June 11th, a trick of English invention, viz., the lock-out of upwards of 3,000 mechanics till then in their employ.

Trade Unionism being of recent growth in Switzerland, the same master builders of Geneva used to indignantly denounce it as an English importation. Two years ago, they taunted their men with a lack of Patriotism for trying to transplant on Swiss soil such an exotic plant as the limitation of the working day with fixed rates of wages per hour. They never doubted but there must be some keen mischief-mongers behind the scene, since their own native workmen, if left to themselves, would naturally like nothing better than drudging from twelve to fourteen hours a day for whatever pay the master might find it in his heart to allow. The deluded men, they publicly asserted,

were acting under dictation from London and Paris, much the same as Swiss diplomatists are wont to obey the behests from St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris. However, the men were not to be cajoled, taunted, or intimidated into the persuasion that limiting the daily hours of toil to ten, and fixing the rate of wages per hour was something derogatory to the dignity of a Free Citizen, nor could they by any provocation be inveigled into acts of violence affording the masters a plausible pretext for enforcing public repressive measures against the unions.

At last, in May, 1868, M. Camperio, the then Minister of Justice and Police, brought about an agreement that the hours of labour should be nine a day in winter, and eleven a day in summer, wages varying from forty-five to fifty centimes an hour. That agreement was signed in the presence of the Minister by both masters and men. In the spring of 1869 some masters refused to pay more wages for a day's labour of eleven hours, than they had paid during winter for nine hours. The matter was again compromised by making 45 centimes an hour, the uniform rate of wages for artisans in the building trade. Although clearly comprised in this settlement, the plasterers and painters had to toil away on the old conditions because they were not then yet sufficiently organised to enforce the new ones. On the 15th of May last, they claimed to be put on a level with the other trades, and on the flat refusal of the masters, struck work the following week. On the 4th of June, the master builders resolved that if the plasterers and painters did not return to work on the 9th, the whole of the building operatives should be locked out on the 11th. This menace was carried into effect. Not satisfied with having locked out the men, the masters publicly called upon the federal government to forcibly dissolve the union and expel the foreigners from Switzerland.[415] Their benevolent and truly liberal attempts at restoring the freedom of labour, were, however, baffled

by a monster meeting, and a protest on the part of the Swiss non-building operatives.

The other Geneva trades have formed a committee to manage the affairs for the men locked-out. Some house owners who had contracted for new buildings with the master builders, considered the contracts broken, and invited the men employed on them to continue the work as if nothing had happened. This proposal was at once accepted. Many single men are leaving Geneva as fast as they can. Still there remain some 2,000 families deprived of their usual means of subsistance. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association, therefore, calls upon all honest working men and women, throughout the civilised world, to assist both by moral and material means the Geneva building trades in their just struggle against capitalist despotism.

By order of the Council,

B. LUCRAFT, *Chairman*
JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer*
GEORGE ECCARIUS, *Gen. Sec.*

256, High Holborn, London, W.C.,
July 5th, 1870

Written by Karl Marx

Published as a leaflet

Published according to the leaflet

THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[416]

The International Working Men's Congress of 1870 will be held in the City of *Mayence-on-the-Rhine.* The delegates are requested to assemble on *Monday, September 5, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, in the Marble Hall,* which the Burgomaster of the City has kindly placed at the disposal of the Association during the Session of the Congress.

PROGRAMME:

1. Abolition of public debts, with an equitable compensation.
2. On the connection between the political action and the social movement of the working class.
3. Practical ways and means of converting land into common property.
4. Conversion of all note-issuing banks into national banks.
5. On the conditions of co-operative production on a national scale.
6. Necessity of carrying out the resolutions of the Geneva Congress of 1866 respecting the *Statistics of Labour.*

7. Reconsideration by the Congress of the means to suppress war.

By order of the General Council,

BENJAMIN LUCRAFT, *Chairman*
JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer*
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, *General Secretary*

256, High Holborn, London, W.C.,
July 12, 1870

Written by Karl Marx; approved by the General Council on July 12, 1870

Published as a leaflet, *The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*

Published according to the leaflet

PROGRAMME FOR THE MAINZ CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL*[417]

1) Sur la nécessité d'abolir la dette publique. Discussion sur le droit d'indemnité à accorder.

2) Des rapports entre l'action politique et le mouvement social de la classe ouvrière.

3) Moyens pratiques pour convertir la propriété fonsière en propriété sociale (*v. la note*).

4) De la conversion des banques de circulation en banques nationales.

5) Conditions de la production coopérative sur une échelle nationale.

6) De la nécessité pour la classe ouvrière de faire *la statistique générale du travail* conformément aux résolutions du Congrès de Genève de 1866.

7) Reconsidération par le congrès de la question sur les moyens de supprimer la guerre.

Note ad 3: Le Conseil Général Belge a proposé cette question:

"Des moyens pratiques de constituer des *sections agricoles* au sein de l'*Internationale* et d'établir la solidarité entre les prolétaires de l'agriculture et les prolétaires des autres industries."

Le *Conseil Général de l'Association internationale* croit que cette question est inhérente à la troisième.

Written by Karl Marx on July 14, 1870

Published in *La Liberté* No. 162, July 31, 1870, and in *Der Volksstaat* No. 65, August 13, 1870

Published according to the MS

* See Appendix, p. 413.—*Ed.*

COMMUNICATION CONFIDENTIELLE AUX DIFFÉRENTES SECTIONS*[418]

1) Le Conseil Général demande aux différentes sections de donner à ses délégués des instructions formelles sur l'opportunité de changer le siège du Conseil Général pour l'année 1870-71.

2) Dans le cas où le changement serait décidé, le Conseil Général proposerait Bruxelles comme siège du Conseil Général pour la même année.

Written by Karl Marx on July 14, 1870

Published according to the MS

* See Appendix, p. 414.—*Ed.*

APPENDIX

EXPLANATORY NOTES

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APPENDIX

KARL MARX

REMARKS TO THE PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY[367]

[PROGRAMME AND RULES OF THE ALLIANCE]

The socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom, having separated itself from the League as a result of the majority vote at the Berne Congress, the majority being formally opposed to the fundamental principle of all workers' associations—that of *economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals*—has thereby adhered to the principles proclaimed by the *workers' congresses* held in Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels. Several members of this minority, belonging to various nations, have suggested to us to form a new *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, established entirely within the big *International Working Men's Association*, but having a special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of universal and genuine equality of all human beings on earth.

Convinced, on our part, of the usefulness of such an enterprise that would provide sincere socialist democrats of Europe and America with the means of being understood and of affirming their ideas, without any pressure from the false socialism which bourgeois democracy finds necessary to apply these days, we consider it our duty, together with our friends, to take the initiative in forming this **new*** organisation.

[MARX'S REMARKS]

equality of classes!

established within and established against!

So, socialist democrats are not understood through the International

* Words in bold type have been underlined by Marx.—*Ed.*

Therefore, **we have established ourselves as the central section** *of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, and we publish today its *Programme* and *Rules*.

What modesty! They establish themselves as the central authority, clever lads!

PROGRAMME OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1) The *Alliance* declares itself atheist; it wants abolition of cults, substitution of science for faith and human justice for divine justice.

As if one could declare—by royal decree—abolition of faith!

2) It wants above all political, economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals of **both sexes**, commencing with **abolition of the right of inheritance**, so that in future enjoyment be equal to each person's production, and so that, in conformity with the decision taken at the last workers' congress in Brussels, the land, instruments of labour, like all other capital, on becoming collective property of the entire society, shall be used only by the workers, that is, by agricultural and industrial associations.

Hermaphrodite man! Just like the **Russian Commune!**

The old Saint Simon panacea!

3) It wants for all children of both sexes, from birth, equal conditions of development, that is, maintenance, education and training at all degrees of science, industry and the arts, being convinced that this equality, at first only economic and social, will increasingly lead to a great natural equality of individuals, eliminating all kinds of artificial inequalities, historical products of a social organisation as false as it is iniquitous.

Empty phrase!

4) Being the foe of all despotism, not recognising any political form other than republican, and rejecting completely any reactionary alliance, it also rejects any political action which does not have as its

immediate and direct aim the triumph of the workers' cause against Capital.

It recognises that all the existing political and authoritarian states, more and more reducing their activities to simple administrative functions of public service in their respective countries, will have to dissolve into a universal union of free associations, like the agricultural and industrial ones.

6) Since the social question can only have a final and real solution on the basis of international or universal solidarity of the workers of all countries, the *Alliance* rejects any policy based on self-styled patriotism and on rivalry between nations.

7) It wants the universal association of all local associations on the basis of Liberty.

!

If they **are reducing** themselves they will not **have to** dissolve, but disappear spontaneously.

There is rivalry and rivalry, my dear Russian!

RULES

1) *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* constitutes a **branch of the International Working Men's Association** and accepts all its general rules.

2) The *Founder Members of the Alliance* are organising provisionally a *Central Bureau* at Geneva.

3) Founder Members belonging to the same country constitute the *national bureau* of their country.

4) National bureaus are to establish in all regions **local groups of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, which, through their respective national bureaus, will ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them** into the *International Working Men's Association.*

5) All local groups will form their bureaus according to the customary procedure accepted by the local sections of the *International Working Men's Association.*

6) All members of the *Alliance* must pay a monthly contribution of *ten centimes,* half

The International Association does not admit any **"International** branches". New Central Council!

The Rules of the International do not recognise this "mediatory power".

of which will be retained for their own needs, by each national group, and the other half will go to the Central Bureau for its general requirements.

New taxes absorbing our own contributions!

In countries where this sum will be judged to be too high, the national bureaus, in accord with the Central Bureau, will have the power to reduce it.

7) At the annual Working Men's Congress the *delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, as a branch of the *International Working Men's Association*, will hold public meetings in a separate building.

They want to compromise us under our own patronage!

MEMBERS OF THE GENEVA INITIATING GROUP

Asinus Asinorum! And Madame Bakunin!

J. Philipp Becker.—M. Bakunin.—Th. Rémy.—Antoine Lindegger.—Louis Nidegger.—Valérien Mroczkowsky.—Jean Zagorsky.—Phil. Zöller.—A. Ardin.—Ch. Perron.—J. Gay.—J. Friess.—Fr. Rochat.—Nikolai Zhukovsky.—M. Elpidin.—Zampérini.—E. Becker.—Louis Weiss.—Perret.—Marauda.—Edouard Crosset.—A. Blanchard.—A. Matis.—C. Raymond.—Mme. Alexeyeva.*—Mme. Bakunin.—Mme. Suzette Croset.—Mme. Rosalie Sanguinède.—Mme. Désirée Gay.—Mme. Jenny Guinet.—Antoine Dunaud.—J. Maulet.—Guerry.—Jacques Courtois.—John Potot.—André Bel.—Fr. Bofféty.—Ch. Guyot.—Ch. Postleb.—Ch. Détraz.—J. Croset.—J. Sanguinède.—C. Jaclard.—L. Coulin.—Fr. Gay.—Blaise Rossety.—Jos. Marilly.—C. Brechtel.—L. Monachon.—Fr. Mermillod.—Donat-father.—L. J. Cheneval.—J. Bédeau.—L. H. Fornachon.—Pinière.—Ch. Grange.—Jacques Laplace.—S. Pellaton.—W. Rau.—Gottlob Walter.—Adolphe Haeberling.—Perrié.—Adolphe Catalan.—Marc Héridier.—Louis

* Barteneva.—*Ed.*

Allement.—A. Pellergin-Druart.—Louis de Coppet.—Louis Dupraz.—Guillmeaux.—Joseph Baquet.—Fr. Pisteur.—Ch. Ruchet.—Placide Margarittaz.—Paul Garbani.—Etienne Borret.—J. J. Scopini.—F. Crochet.—Jean Jost.—Léopold Wucher.—G. Filliétaz.—L. Fulliquet.—Ami Gandillon.—V. Alexeyev.*—François Chevallier.

Jules Johannard
Eugène Dupont**

The Founder Members of the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, having decided to start a paper under the name *La Révolution*, to be the press organ of this new Association, the *provisional Central Bureau* will begin publication as soon as it has 300 shares, of 10 francs each and payable in four installments, one every three months, from January 1, 1869. Accordingly, the *provisional Central Bureau* is appealing to all *national bureaus of the Alliance* and inviting them to begin subscriptions in their own countries. As these subscriptions are considered voluntary gifts which give no right to receipt of the paper, the *national bureaus* must simultaneously compile a list of subscribers.

The paper will appear once a week.

Subscription cost:

one year	6 fr.
six months	3 fr. 50

On behalf of the *provisional Central Bureau*:

Secretary, JEAN ZAGORSKY
rue Montbrillant, 8.

N. B. The *national bureaus* are requested to send the *Central Bureau* the money received for the shares and subscriptions before January 1.

and they have the cheek to announce in Switzerland that I shall contribute articles to **"La Révolution"**,[368] without informing me!

Remarks made by Karl Marx on December 15, 1868

Translated from the French

* Bartenev.—*Ed.*

** The names Johannard and Dupont are written in Jung's hand.—*Ed.*

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND ENGLISH WORKING MEN'S ORGANISATIONS[369]

The unusual seriousness of the English and particularly the London newspapers in respect of the *International Working Men's Association* and its *Brussels Congress* (*The Times* alone devoted four leading articles to it) has stirred up a real devil's sabbath in the German bourgeois papers. They, the German papers, take the English papers to task for their error in believing that the International Working Men's Association in England is important! They have discovered that the English trades unions, which through the International Working Men's Association, have given considerable support in cash to the Paris, Geneva and Belgian workers in their fight against capital, have absolutely *no* connection with that very same International Working Men's Association!

"Apparently all this is based," we have in writing from London, "on the assertion of a certain *M. Hirsch** whom Schulze-Delitzsch sent specially to London to kick up such a fuss. *M. Hirsch* says so, and *M. Hirsch* is an honourable man! The honourable Hirsch aroused the suspicions of London trades unionists because he bore *no* letters of recommendation from the International Working Men's

* Reference is to Dr. *Max Hirsch*, the "famous" national economist of the Duncker *Volks-Zeitung*. Until his investigatory expedition into the English unknown, apparently no one in London had any idea of the existence of this new saviour of society.

Association. They simply *made a fool of him.* No wonder then that Hirsch kicked up a fuss. If he had been taken seriously, it would have been quite easy to have let him know, without any particular show of frankness, what the whole of London knows—that the General Trades Council in London consists of six or seven people, of which three, *Odger* (Secretary of the General Trades Council and shoemakers' delegate), *R. Applegarth* (delegate of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners) and *Howell* (delegate of the bricklayers and Secretary of the Reform League), are simultaneously members of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. He would have discovered further that the rest of the affiliated trades unions (there are about 50 in London alone, not counting the provincial trades unions) are represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association by another *five members,* namely, *R. Shaw, Buckley, Cohn, Hales* and *Maurice;* furthermore every union has the right and habit of sending delegates to the General Council for special purposes. Further, the following English organisations are represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association:

"*co-operative societies,* which sent three delegates to the Brussels Congress, by *Wlm. Weston** and *Williams;*

"the *Reform League,* by *Dell, Cowell Stepney* and *Lucraft,* all three are also on the Executive Committee of the Reform League;

"the *National Reform Association,* set up by the late agitator Bronterre O'Brien, by its President *A. A. Walton* and *Milner;*

"lastly, the *atheist* popular movement by its well-known orator Mrs. *Harriet Law* and Mr. *Copeland.*

"It is clear that not one significant organisation of the

* John Weston is more likely the man meant here.—*Ed.*

British proletariat exists which is not directly, by its own leaders, represented on the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Finally, there is *The Bee-Hive*, under *George Potters's* editorship, the official organ of the English trades unions, which is at the same time the official organ of the International's General Council, on whose meetings it reports weekly.

"The discoveries of the honourable Hirsch and the subsequent jubilation in the German bourgeois press have provided just the right fodder for the London correspondent of *Weser-Zeitung* and the London correspondent of *Augsburgerin**, who signs himself △. This person—for one and the same person writes for the two papers—lives, for reasons best known to himself, in a remote corner a few hours out of London. Here he takes his shameful extracts from the *Times*, *Morning Star* and *Saturday Review*, and serves them up with an aesthetic fish sauce to suit the taste of his public. From time to time, as is the case here, he also digs up the gossip of German papers and has it reprinted under a false date in *Weser-Zeitung* and *Augsburgerin*. The said correspondent of *Weser-Zeitung* and *Augsburgerin* is none other than the notorious literary lumpenproletarian *Elard Biscamp*. Long rejected by any decent society, this unfortunate seeks consolation in the bottle for the broken heart caused him by Prussia annexing his native Kurhessen and his friend *Edgar Bauer*."

Written by Karl Marx on October 4, 1868

Published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 42, October 17, 1868

Translated from the German

* Reference is to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*.—*Ed.*

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY[376]

Just about a month ago a certain number of citizens formed in Geneva the *Central Initiating Committee* of a new international society named *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, stating it was their "special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of equality, etc.". The programme and rules printed by this Initiating Committee* were only communicated to the *General Council* of the *International Working Men's Association* at its meeting on December 15. According to these documents, the said "*International Alliance is established entirely within the International Working Men's Association*", at the same time as it is *established* entirely outside of the Association.

Besides the *General Council* of the *International Association*, elected at the Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels working men's congresses, there is to be, in line with the initiating rules, another *Central Council* in Geneva, which is self-appointed. Besides the local groups of the *International Association*, there are to be local groups of the *International Alliance*, which "through their national bureaus", operating outside the national bureaus of the *International Association*, "will ask the *Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International Work-*

* See pp. 273-78 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

ing Men's Association"; the Alliance Central Committee thereby takes upon itself the right of admittance to the *International Association.* Lastly, the *General Congress of the International Association* will have its parallel in the *General Congress of the International Alliance,* for, as the initiating rules say,

"At the annual Working Men's Congress the *delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, will hold public meetings in a separate building.*"

Considering,

that the presence of a second international body operating within and outside the *International Working Men's Association* will be the most infallible means of its disorganisation;

that every other group of individuals, anywhere at all, will have the right to imitate the Geneva initiating group and, under more or less plausible excuses, to bring into the *International Working Men's Association* other international associations with other "*special missions*";

that the *International Working Men's Association* will thereby soon become a plaything for intriguers *of all race and nationality;*

that the *Rules of the International Working Men's Association* anyway admit only local and national branches into the Association (see Article 1 and Article 6 of the *Rules*);

that *sections* of the *International Association* are forbidden to give themselves rules or administrative regulations *contrary* to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the *International Association* (*see Article 12 of the Administrative Regulations*[377]);

that the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the *International Association* can only be revised by the *General Congress* in the event of two-thirds of the dele-

gates present voting in favour of such a revision (*see Article 13 of the Administrative Regulations*).*

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association unanimously agreed at its meeting on December 22, 1868, that:

1) All articles of the *Rules* of the *International Alliance of Socialist Democracy*, defining its relations with the *International Working Men's Association*, are declared null and void;

2) *The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy* may not be admitted as a branch of the *International Working Men's Association*;

3) These resolutions be published in all countries where the *International Working Men's Association exists*.**

By order of the *General Council of the International Working Men's Association*

London, December 22, 1868

Written by Karl Marx; approved at the General Council meeting on December 22, 1868

Published in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale*. Geneva, 1872

Translated from the French

* During discussion of the draft resolution at the General Council meeting on December 22, 1868, on Dupont's proposal an addition was made to this part of the resolution which was not recorded in full in the Minute Book (see p. 56 of the present volume). The text of this addition, edited apparently by Marx, was included in the final version of the circular:

"That this question was decided beforehand in the resolution against the *Peace League*, unanimously passed at the General Congress in Brussels;

"That in this resolution the *Congress* declared there was no justification for the *Peace League*'s existence since, according to its recent declarations, its aim and principles were identical with those of the *International Working Men's Association*;

"That a few members of the Geneva *Initiating* Group, as delegates to the Brussels Congress, had voted for this resolution."—*Ed.*

** Point 3 was not included in the final text of the resolution.—*Ed.*

REPORT ON THE MINERS' GUILDS IN THE COALFIELDS OF SAXONY[378]

The first *wage scale* we take, e.g., that of the Niederwürschnitz Company, shows us the overall condition of the miners in the coal measures of the Erzgebirge. A week's wage for adult miners amounts to from 2 thaler to 3 thaler 12 silver groschen 6 pfennig, for juveniles between 1 thaler 10 silver groschen and 1 thaler 20 silver groschen. A week's wage for an average miner amounts approximately to 2 thaler 20 silver groschen. At the demand of the owners the workers have to work at piece rates. The *wage scale* is arranged so that the piece rate will hardly exceed the normal rate for day work. Every worker must by agreement give a month's notice to leave, and that on the first day of the month. Consequently, if he refuses to work at piece rates on the terms proposed, he can be *forced* to it for 4-8 weeks at the least. It is simply ridiculous under such circumstances to talk of regulating the piece rate by mutual agreement, of a free contract between worker and capitalist!

Wages are paid in two instalments; an advance is made on the 22nd of the month, the remainder for that month being paid on the 8th of the following month. The capitalist therefore retains wages that he *owes* his workers for a full three weeks on the average—this compulsory loan to the employer is all the more lucrative since money is obtained without the payment of interest.

As a rule the miners work in twelve-hour shifts, and the afore-mentioned weekly wages are paid for 6 twelve-

hour working days. The twelve-hour working day includes 2 hours (2 half hours and 1 full hour) for meals and to *change the shifts*. If the work is urgent, shifts last eight hours (i.e., each man does 3 shifts in 48 hours) with *half an hour for meals*; they may even be six hours, in which case *"no time is stipulated for the change of shifts"*.

These facts offer the gloomy picture of the condition of these miners. To appreciate their serf-like conditions we must also examine the *rules of the miners' guilds*. Let us take the rules for the coal-mines, those of (I) the high and mighty *Prince Schönburg*, (II) the *Niederwürschnitz* Company, (III) the *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberger* Company, and (IV) the *United Lugau* companies.

The income of the miners' guild consists of (1) entrance fees and workers' dues, fines, unclaimed wages, etc., and (2) contributions from the capitalists. The workers pay 3 or 4 per cent of their wages, the owners of (I) pay 7 silver groschen 5 pfennig monthly for every paid-up miner, of (II) 1 pfennig for every scheffel* of coal sold, of (III) as initial contribution and to found a miners' guild fund—500 thaler; after that the same dues as the workers, and of (IV), as with (II), plus a membership fee of 100 thaler from each of the joint companies.

Are we not overwhelmed by this picture of friendly harmony between capital and labour? Who still dares to harp on their contradictory interests? But, as the great German thinker Hansemann once said, "business is business".[379] We might also ask what the worker has to pay for the magnanimity of the "great coal-owners". Let's see.

The capitalists contribute in one instance (III) as much as the workers, in all other instances appreciably less. For this they lay claim to the following rights in respect of *the property of the guild*:

* 1 Scheffel is one-eighth of a ton.—*Ed.*

I. "*No property rights* in respect of the guild fund *shall accrue* to members of the miners' guild, and they shall not be able to demand from the fund anything greater than the amount to which they, according to the rules, have a right in certain circumstances, in particular they shall *not be able to propose sharing the fund and its ready cash even* in the event of work stopping at any undertaking. Should there be a complete shut-down in the coal-mines of Prince Schönburg in Oelsnitz", then, after satisfaction of ready claims, "*the right to dispose of the remainder is vested in the Prince, owner of the coalfields.*"

II. "In the event of the joint Niederwürschnitz Coal Company closing down, the miners' guild fund shall also be closed down, and *the right to dispose* of the remaining money *vested in the management.*"

Members of the guild fund *have no property rights in respect of the guild fund.*

III. as in II.

IV. "The guild fund shall be considered the *inalienable property* of its present members and those who join it in future. Only in the unexpected event of the complete liquidation of all coal-mines in the trust, shall this be followed by the closing down of the miners' guild." Now, in this unexpected event one might have expected the workers to be able to divide up among themselves any money remaining. Nothing of the sort! In this case "the management of the last closed trust shall direct suggestions to the *Royal District Municipality.* The last-named authority shall *decide* how this sum of money is to be used."

In other words, the workers pay the greater part of the contributions to the guild fund, but the capitalists *make themselves owners of the fund.* The capitalists look as if they are making the workers a present. Actually it is the workers who are obliged to make their capitalists a present. The latter, besides having property rights, also control the fund.

The *chairman* of the fund board is the coalfield manager. He is the chief administrator of the fund, he decides all disputed issues, determines the amount of fines, etc. Next below him is the *secretary of the miners' guild,* who is also the treasurer. He is either appointed by a capitalist

or has to seek the latter's approval if he is elected by the workers. Then come the ordinary *members of the board.* They are usually elected by the workers, but in one instance (III) the capitalist appoints three members of the board. What sort of "board" this actually is can be seen from the rule obliging "*it to hold a meeting at least once a year*". Actually it is run by the chairman and the board members carry out his orders.

The Herr Chairman, the coalfield manager, is, furthermore, a particularly powerful gentleman. He can reduce the probation period for new members, issue extra allowances, even (III) expel workers whose reputation he deems poor, and he can always appeal to the capitalist whose decision is final on *everything concerning the miners' guild.* Prince Schönburg and the management of the joint stock companies can, for instance, alter the guild rules, raise the workers' dues, reduce sick benefits and pensions, create new obstacles or formalities in dealing with claims on the fund, in short, they *can do what they like with the workers' money*, with the one reservation concerning the sanction of the government authorities who have never yet displayed any *desire* to bother about the condition or needs of the workers. In enterprise III the management even reserves itself the right to expel from the miners' guild any worker who *has been tried in court even if he is acquitted*!

And what are the benefits for which the miners so blindly subordinate their own affairs to an alien despotism? Listen to this!

1) In the event of sickness they receive medical attendance and a weekly allowance, in enterprise I—up to a third of their wages, in III—up to a half of their wages, in II and IV—up to a half or if the illness is due to an accident at work, two-thirds and three-quarters respectively. 2) The incapacitated receive a pension depending on their length of service, and also on their contributions

to the guild fund, from one-twentieth to half of their latest earnings. 3) If a member dies his widow receives an allowance of between one-fifth and one-third of the pension which her husband could have claimed, and a small weekly dole for each child. 4) A burial allowance in the event of death in the family.

The noble prince and enlightened capitalists who compiled these rules, and the paternal government which ratified them, owe the world the solution of this problem: if a miner with an average full wage of 2⅔ thaler a week is half starved, how can he live on a pension of, say, one-twentieth of this wage, some 4 silver groschen a week?

The tender concern which the rules display for the interests of capital comes out clearly in the way mine accidents are treated. With the exception of enterprises II and IV there is no special allowance if illness or death occurs through an accident "in the course of duty". *In no case is the pension increased if disability* follows from a mine accident. The reason is very simple. This clause would increase payments out of the fund and very soon make even the most short-sighted see the real nature of *presents* from the capitalist gentlemen.

The rules imposed by the capitalists of Saxony differ from the constitution imposed by Louis Bonaparte because the latter still awaits the crowning touch whereas the former already have it in the form of the following article applicable to all:

> "Every worker who leaves the company, be it voluntarily, be it *compulsorily*, thereby leaves the guild and *forfeits all rights and claims both to the fund itself and to the money he himself has contributed.*"

Thus, a person who has worked 30 years in one mine and contributed his share to the guild fund, forfeits all rights to his hard-won pension as soon as the capitalist *decides to sack him*! This article turns the hired workman

into a serf, ties him to the soil, subjects him to the most shameful mistreatment. If he is no lover of kicks, if he resists the cutting of wages to starvation level, if he refuses to pay the arbitrarily imposed fines, if he dares to insist on official verification of weights and measures—he will always receive the same old answer: get out, but you will not take your fund contributions and your fund rights with you!

It seems paradoxical to expect manly independence and self-respect from people in such a humiliating position. Yet these miners can be counted—be it said to their honour—among the vanguard fighters of the German working class. Their masters are therefore beginning to be greatly disturbed, despite the tremendous support they get from the present organisation of the miners' union. The most recent and monstrous of their rules (enterprise III, dating from 1862) contains the following grotesque clause against strikes and associations:

> "Every guild member *must always be satisfied with the pay accruing to him in accordance with the wage scale,* he must never take part in an action to force higher wages, to say nothing of inciting his workmates to the same and much more of the same sort."

Why have not the guardians of the *Niederwürschnitz-Kirchberger* Coalfield Company, Messrs. *B. Krüger, F. W. Schwamkrug* and *F. W. Richter,* deigned to make it a rule too that henceforward every *coal purchaser "must always be satisfied" with the coal price* fixed with their noble assent? This would be too much even for the "limited loyal mind" of Herr von Rochow.[380]

Following on agitation among the miners there was recently published *preliminary draft rules* for the unification of miners' guilds of all coalfields in Saxony (Zwickau 1869). They were drawn up by a workers' committee under the chairmanship of Herr *J. G. Dinter.* The main points are: 1) All guilds to be united in a single guild. 2) Members

may make claims as long as they live in Germany and pay their dues. 3) A general meeting of all adult members constitutes the supreme authority. It elects an executive committee, etc. 4) Contributions by the masters to the guild fund must make up half those paid by the workers.

This draft in no way reflects the views of the most intelligent miners of Saxony. It comes much more from a section which prefers reforms with the permission of capital. It bears the stamp of unpracticality on its brow. What a naïve idea indeed that capitalists, unrestrained rulers over the miners' guilds up to now, will surrender their power to a democratic general workers' meeting and, notwithstanding, will pay their contributions!

The *basic evil* is in this very fact that the capitalists as a whole *contribute.* While this continues, they cannot be removed from running the fund and the guild. To be genuine workers' societies, the miners' guilds must rely exclusively on workers' contributions. Only thus can they become trades unions which protect individual workers from the tyranny of individual masters. The insignificant and dubious advantages which come from the capitalists' contributions—can they ever compensate for the state of serfdom into which they force the workers? Let the Saxon miners always remember that what the capitalist puts into the guild fund he always *gets back, and more, from the workers' wages.* Guilds of this type have the unique effect *of suspending the working of the law of supply and demand to the exclusive advantage of the capitalist.* In other words, by the *unusual* power which they give capital over individual workers, they press down wages even *lower* than their usual average level.

But should the workers then present the existing funds—naturally after compensation for their acquired rights—to the capitalists? This question can only be decided by *law.* Despite the *ratification by the extreme royal authority* certain articles in the rules cut across the generally

accepted principles of civil rights. In all circumstances, however, the division of the workers' money from the capitalists' money remains the essential precondition to any reform of the miners' guilds.

The contributions of the Saxon coalfield owners to the guild funds are an involuntary admission that capital is up to a certain point responsible for accidents which threaten the hired worker with mutilation or death during the execution of his duty at his place of work. But instead of the present situation where this responsibility is permitted to be the pretext to extend the despotism of capital, the workers must agitate for *statutory regulations to cover this responsibility.*

Written by Engels between February 17 and 21, 1869; read at the General Council meeting on February 23, 1869

Published by decision of the General Council as a supplement to *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 12, March 20, 1869

Translated from the German

TO ALL SECTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[399]

The General Council is in receipt of the following letter:

New York, September 14, 1869

To the General Council of the
International Working Men's Association

Dear Sirs,

We beg to inform you that the Paper-Stainers' Union No. 1, of the State of New York, is at present on strike for an advance of wages of a half-cent per roll on water colours, and one cent per roll on oil colours, piece work, and week work three dollars advance on all colours. Our employers having threatened to fetch men from Europe, you would very much oblige by sending notices to the different places in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, etc., to make it known what paper-stainers are wanted for at New York.

By order of No. 1 Union,
P. H. BROUGHTON, President
JAMES FULLERTON, Secretary

All branches are asked to do what they can to prevent such an exportation of paper-stainers.

In the name of the General Council,
ROBERT APPLEGARTH, Acting President
G. GEORGE ECCARIUS, General Secretary

London, September 28, 1869

Drawn up by Eccarius

Printed in *L'Internationale* No. 38, October 3, 1869

Translated from the French

The letter of New York workers is taken from *The Bee-Hive*, October 2, 1869

THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF ROMANCE SWITZERLAND[403]

At its extraordinary meeting on January 1, 1870, the *General Council* resolved:

1) We read in *L'Egalité* of December 11, 1869:

"It is *certain* that it" (the General Council) "is neglecting extremely important matters.... We remind it of them" the General Council's *obligations*) "with Article 1 of the Regulations, etc.: 'The General Council is commissioned to carry the resolutions of the Congress into effect'.... *We could put enough questions to the General Council for its replies* to make up quite a long report. *They will come later*.... Meanwhile ... etc."

The General Council does not know of any article, either in the Rules or in the Regulations, which *obliges it* to enter into correspondence or into polemic with *L'Egalité* or to provide *"answers" to "questions"* from newspapers. Only the *Federal Council* of Romance Switzerland represents the branches of Romance Switzerland vis-à-vis the General Council. When the Federal Council sends us requests or reprimands by the only legitimate means, i.e., by its *secretary*, the General Council will always be ready to reply. But the *Romance Federal Council* has no right either to *abdicate* its functions in favour of *L'Egalité* and *Progrès*, or to let these newspapers *usurp* its functions. Generally speaking the General Council's correspondence with national and local committees cannot be published without greatly prejudicing the Association's general interests. Consequently, if other organs of the International were to follow the example of *Progrès* and *L'Egalité*, the General Council would be faced with the alternative of

either discrediting itself publicly by its silence or violating its obligations by replying publicly.*

L'Egalité joins *Le Progrès* (a paper which is not sent to the General Council) in inviting *Le Travail* (Paris paper which has not hitherto declared itself an organ of the *International*, and which is also not sent to the General Council) to demand an explanation from the General Council.** That is almost a League of Public Welfare.[404]

2) Now, supposing that the questions put by *L'Egalité* come from the Romance Federal Council, we are going to answer them, but only on condition that such questions are not put in such a manner in future.

3) *Question of a Bulletin.* In the resolutions of the Geneva Congress, which are inserted in the Regulations, it is laid down that the national committees shall send the General Council *documents* dealing with the proletarian movement and that the General Council shall thereupon publish a bulletin in the *different languages* as often *as its means permit* ("*As often as its means permit*, the General Council shall publish a report, etc.").

The General Council's obligation was thus made dependent on the *conditions* which have never been fulfilled. Even the statistical inquiry provided for by the Rules, decided by consecutive General Congresses, and requested

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* In the manuscript, after the word "publicly", Marx had crossed out the words: "*Progrès* (which is not sent to the General Council as it *should* in accordance with resolutions thrice adopted by General Congresses) has taken the initiative in usurping the Federal Council's functions."—*Ed.*

** The manuscript has the following words crossed out: "It is probably true to say that the same people who last year, immediately after their tardy attachment to our Association, formed the dangerous project to found another international association within the International Working Men's Association, under their personal control and based in Geneva, have returned to their project and still believe in their special mission to usurp the supreme authority of the International Association. The General Council reminds the Romance Federal Council that it is *responsible* for the question of the newspapers *L'Egalité* and *Le Progrès*."—*Ed.*

yearly by the General Council, has never been made. No document has been presented to the General Council. As far as the *means* are concerned, the General Council would have long since ceased to exist had it not been for local contributions from England and the personal sacrifices of its members.

Thus, the Regulations passed at the Geneva Congress have remained a dead letter.*

As regards the Basle Congress, it did not discuss the *fulfilment* of these existing Regulations. It discussed the chance of issuing a bulletin in good time and *it did not make any resolution* (see the *German account* published in Basle under the eyes of the Congress[405]).

For the rest, the General Council believes that the basic purpose of the bulletin is at the moment perfectly fulfilled by the various organs of the *International* published in the different languages and exchanged among them. It would be absurd to do by costly reports what is being done already without any expense. On the other hand, a bulletin which would print what is not printed in the organs of the *International* would only help our enemies to see behind the scenes.

4) *Question of separating the General Council from the Federal Council for England.*

Long before the foundation of *L'Egalité,* this proposition used to be made periodically inside the General Council by one or two of its English members. It was always rejected almost unanimously.

Although revolutionary *initiative* will probably come from France, England alone can serve as the *lever* for a serious *economic* revolution. It is the only country where there are no more peasants and where land property is concentrated in a few hands. It is the only country where

* In the manuscript, after the words "dead letter", the following is crossed out: "The Basle Congress took the same view."—*Ed.*

the *capitalist form*, i.e., combined labour on a large scale under capitalist masters, embraces virtually the whole of production. It is the only country *where the great majority of the population consists of wages labourers.* It is the only country where the class struggle and organisation of the working class by the *Trades Unions* have *acquired* a certain degree of maturity and universality. It is the only country where, because of its domination on the world market, every revolution in economic matters must immediately affect the whole world. If landlordism and capitalism are classical examples in England, on the other hand the *material conditions* for their *destruction* are the most mature here. The General Council, now being in the *happy position of having its hand directly on this great lever of proletarian revolution*, what folly, we might say even what a crime, to let this lever fall into purely English hands!

The English have all the *material* necessary for the social revolution. What they lack is *the spirit of generalisation and revolutionary fervour.* Only the General Council can provide them with this, can thus accelerate the truly revolutionary movement here, and in consequence, *everywhere.* The great effect we have already had is attested to by the most intelligent and influential of the newspapers of the ruling classes, as e.g. *Pall Mall Gazette, Saturday Review, Spectator* and *Fortnightly Review*, not to speak of the so-called radicals in the *Commons* and the *Lords* who a little while ago still exerted a big influence on the leaders of the English workers. They accuse us publicly of having poisoned and almost extinguished the *English spirit* of the working class and of having pushed it into revolutionary socialism.

The only way to bring about this change is to agitate like the *General Council* of the *International Association.* As the General Council we can initiate measures (e.g., the founding of the *Land and Labour League*) which as a result

of their execution will later appear to the public as spontaneous movements of the English working class.

If a *Regional Council* were formed outside of the *General Council,* what would be the immediate effects?

Placed between the *General Council* and the *General Trades Union Council,* the *Regional Council* would have no authority. On the other hand, the *General Council* of the International would lose this *great lever.* If we preferred the showman's chatter to serious action behind the scenes, we would perhaps commit the mistake of replying publicly to *L'Egalité*'s question, why the *General Council* permits "such a burdensome combination of functions".

England cannot be treated simply as a country along with other countries. She must be treated as the *metropolis of capital.*

5) *Question of the General Council Resolution on the Irish Amnesty.**

If England is the bulwark of landlordism and European capitalism, the only point where one can hit official England really hard *is Ireland.*

In the first place, Ireland is the *bulwark* of English landlordism. If it fell in Ireland it would fall in England. In Ireland this is a hundred times easier since *the economic struggle there is concentrated exclusively on landed property,* since this struggle is at the same time national, and since the people there are more revolutionary and exasperated than in England. Landlordism in Ireland is maintained solely by the *English army.* The moment the *forced union* between the two countries ends, a social revolution will immediately break out in Ireland, though in outmoded forms. English landlordism would not only lose a great source of wealth, but also its *greatest moral force,* i.e., that of *representing the domination of England over Ireland.* On the other hand, by maintaining the power

* See p. 183 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

of their landlords in Ireland, the English proletariat makes them invulnerable in England itself.

In the second place, the English bourgeoisie has not only exploited the Irish poverty to keep down the working class in England by *forced immigration* of poor Irishmen, but it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps. The revolutionary fire of the Celtic worker does not go well with the nature of the Anglo-Saxon worker, solid, but slow. On the contrary, in all *the big industrial centres in England* there is profound antagonism between the Irish proletariat and the English proletariat. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the *standard of life.* He feels national and religious antipathies for him. He regards him somewhat like the *poor whites* of the Southern States of North America regard their black slaves. This antagonism among the proletarians of England is artificially nourished and supported by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this scission is the true secret of maintaining its power.

This antagonism is reproduced on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, chased from their native soil by the *bulls* and the sheep, reassemble in North America where they constitute a huge, ever-growing section of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred for England. The English and American governments (or the classes they represent) play on these feelings in order to perpetuate the covert struggle between the United States and England. They thereby prevent a sincere and lasting alliance between the workers on both sides of the Atlantic, and consequently, their emancipation.

Furthermore, Ireland is the only pretext the English Government has for retaining a *big standing army,* which, if need be, as has happened before, can be used against the English workers after having done its military training in Ireland.

Lastly, England today is seeing a repetition of what happened on a monstrous scale in ancient Rome. Any nation that oppresses another forges its own chains.

Thus, the attitude of the International Association to the Irish question is very clear. Its first need is to encourage the social revolution in England. To this end a great blow must be struck in Ireland.*

The General Council's resolutions on the Irish amnesty serve only as an introduction to other resolutions which will affirm that, quite apart from international justice, it is a *precondition to the emancipation of the English working class* to transform the present *forced union* (i.e., the enslavement of Ireland) into *equal and free confederation* if possible, into *complete separation* if need be.**

Moreover, the naïve doctrines of *L'Egalité* and *Progrès* about the connection, or rather the non-connection, between the social movement and the political movement have never, as far as we know, been proclaimed by any of our International congresses. They run counter to our Rules. The Rules say:

"*That the economical emancipation* of the working classes is therefore the great end to which *every political movement ought* to be subordinate *as a means*".

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* After the words "in Ireland" the manuscript has the following words crossed out: "and the Irish economic-national struggle must be exploited in all ways possible".—*Ed.*

** After "if need be" in the manuscript, the following words are crossed out: "The difficulties and even personal dangers which face General Council members who take such a stand may be judged by the simple fact that *Bee-Hive* in its reporting of our meetings not only omitted *our resolutions* but even did not mention the very fact that the General Council is concerned with the Irish question. The General Council was thus obliged to print its resolutions and send them to all Trades Unions separately. It is easy now for oracles on *L'Egalité* to say that it is a *'local political movement'*, that, in their opinion, a *Regional Council* should deal with such bagatelle, and that there is no need to *'better* existing governments'. *L'Egalité* might just as well have said that we intend to *better* the Belgian Government and denounce its massacres."—*Ed.*

The words "*as a means*" were omitted in the French translation made in 1864 by the Paris Committee.[406] When upbraided by the General Council, the Paris Committee excused itself by the difficulties of its political position.

There are other changes in the original text. The first clause of the Rules is as follows: "The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means ... a struggle ... for equal rights and duties, and the *abolition of all class rule.*"

The Paris translation has "equal rights and duties", i.e., it reproduces a general phrase which may be found virtually *in all democratic manifestoes* of the last hundred years and which means different things to different classes, but the translation leaves out the concrete demand: "*the abolition of all class rule*".

Further, in the second clause of the Rules it says: "That the economical subjection of the *men of labour* to the *monopoliser of the means of labour,* that is *the sources of life,* etc."

The Paris translation substitutes the word "*capital*" for "*the means of labour, that is the sources of life*", an expression which includes the land as well as the other means of labour.

The original authentic text was restored in the French translation published in pamphlet form in Brussels by *La Rive Gauche* (1866).[407]

6) *Question of Liebknecht and Schweitzer.*

L'Egalité writes:

"*Both these groups belong to the International.*"

That is false. The Eisenachers' group (which *Progrès* and *L'Egalité* would like to turn into Citizen Liebknecht's group) belongs to the *International. Schweitzer's group does not belong to it.*

Schweitzer even explained at length in his newspaper (*Social-Demokrat)* why the *Lassallean organisation* could not join the *International* without destroying itself.[408]

Without realising it, he was speaking the truth. His artificial, *sectarian* organisation is opposed to the *historical and spontaneous organisation* of the working *class.*

Progrès and *L'Egalité* have summoned the General Council to state publicly its "*view*" on the personal differences between Liebknecht and Schweitzer. Since Citizen *Johann Philipp Becker* (who is *slandered* as much as Liebknecht in Schweitzer's paper) is a member of *L'Egalité's editorial board,* it seems strange that its editors are not better informed about the facts. They should have known that Liebknecht, in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt,* publicly invited Schweitzer to accept the General Council as *arbiter over their differences,*[409] and that Schweitzer no less publicly refused to acknowledge the authority of the General Council.[410]

For its part the General Council has employed all possible means to put an end to this scandal. It instructed its Secretary for Germany to correspond with Schweitzer; this has been done for two years, but all attempts by the Council have broken down in the face of Schweitzer's firm resolution to preserve at all cost his autocratic power together with the sectarian organisation. It is up to the General Council to determine the favourable moment when its public intervention in this quarrel will be more useful than damaging.

7) Since *L'Egalité's* accusations are public and could be considered as emanating from the Romance Committee of Geneva, the General Council is to communicate this reply to all committees corresponding with it.

By order of the General Council

Written by Karl Marx about January 1, 1870

Published in part in the pamphlet *Les prétendues scissions dans l'Internationale,* Geneva, 1872

Translated from the French

OBITUARY[411]

Citizen Robert Shaw, Correspondent of the London General Council for North America, and one of the founders of the International, died this week of pulmonary tuberculosis.

He was one of the most active members of the Council. A pure heart, iron character, passionate temperament, truly revolutionary intelligence, quite above any petty ambition or personal interest. A poor worker himself, he could always find a worker poorer than himself to help. As meek as a child in personal affairs, he indignantly rejected all manner of compromise in public life. It is principally due to his constant efforts that the *Trades Unions* have rallied around us. But this work itself made him plenty of implacable foes. The English *Trades Unions*, all of local origin, all primitively founded with the exclusive purpose of maintaining wages, etc., were completely more or less afflicted by the narrowness that characterised the medieval workshop. There was a little conservative party that wanted at all cost to preserve the basic framework of unionism. Since the International's inception, Shaw made it his life's aim to break these voluntary chains and transform the unions into organised centres of the proletarian revolution. Success almost always crowned his efforts, but ever since that moment his life became a terrible battle in which his feeble health had to give way. He was already dying when he left for the Brussels Congress (September

1868). After his return, his good bourgeois masters banned him from all their works. He leaves a wife and daughter in poverty, but the English workers will not leave them in the lurch.

Written by Karl Marx about January 8, 1870

Printed in *L'Internationale* No. 53, January 16, 1870

Translated from the French

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION TO COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE RUSSIAN SECTION IN GENEVA[412]

Citizens,

At its meeting of March 22, the General Council declared by unanimous vote that your programme and rules accord with the general rules of the International Working Men's Association. It immediately admitted your section into the International.* I am pleased to accept your proposal to take on the honourable duty of being your representative on the General Council.

You say in your programme:

> "... that the imperial yoke oppressing Poland is a brake equally hampering the political and social emancipation of both nations—the Russian just as much as the Polish."

You might add that Russia's rape of Poland provides a pernicious support and real reason for the existence of a military regime in Germany, and, as a consequence, on the whole Continent. Therefore, in working on breaking Poland's chains, Russian socialists take on themselves the lofty task of destroying the military regime; that is essential as a precondition for the overall emancipation of the European proletariat.

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* See pp. 219-20 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

A few months ago I received from St. Petersburg Flerovsky's work *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia*. This is a real eye-opener for Europe. *Russian optimism*, which is spread over the Continent even by the so-called revolutionaries, is mercilessly exposed in this work. It will not retract from its worth if I say that in one or two places it does not fully satisfy criticism from the purely theoretical point of view. It is the book of a serious observer, a tireless worker, an unbiased critic, a great artist and, above all, of a person intolerant of oppression in all its forms and of all national anthems, and ardently sharing all the sufferings and all the aspirations of the producing class.

Such works as Flerovsky's and those of your teacher Chernyshevsky do real honour to Russia and prove that your country is also beginning to take part in the movement of our age.

Fraternal Greetings,

Karl Marx

London, March 24, 1870

Printed in *Narodnoye Dyelo* No. 1, Geneva, April 15, 1870

Translated from the Russian

GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE OF ROMANCE SWITZERLAND[413]

General Council to the Romance Federal Committee

Considering,

that although a majority of delegates at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress nominated a new Romance Federal Committee, this majority was only nominal;

that the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva, having always fulfilled its obligations to the General Council and to the International Working Men's Association, and having always acted in conformity with the Association's Rules, the General Council does not have the right to relieve it of its title.

The General Council, at its meeting of June 28, 1870, unanimously resolved that the Romance Federal Committee residing in Geneva shall retain its title, and that the Federal Committee residing in Chaux-de-Fonds shall select another, local title of its own choosing.

In the name and by order of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association,

H. JUNG,
Secretary for Switzerland

London, June 29, 1870

Written by Karl Marx
Printed in *Le Mirabeau* No. 53, July 24, 1870

Translated from the French

PROGRAMME FOR THE MAINZ CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL[417]

1) On the need to abolish the public debt. Discussion of the right to compensation.

2) Relationship between political action and the social movement of the working class.

3) Practical means of converting land property into social property (*see footnote*).

4) Conversion of banks of issue into national banks.

5) Conditions of co-operative production on a national scale.

6) Need for the working class to draw up *general statistics of labour*, in conformity with the Geneva Congress resolutions in 1866.

7) Reconsideration by the Congress of the question of ways to stop wars.

Footnote to Point 3: *The Belgian General Council* has proposed this question:

"Concerning the practical means of forming *agricultural branches* within the *International* and of establishing solidarity between agricultural proletarians and proletarians of other industries."

The *General Council of the International Association* believes this question is contained in Point 3.

Written by Karl Marx on July 14, 1870

Published in *La Liberté* No. 162, July 31, 1870, and in *Der Volksstaat* No. 65, August 13, 1870

Translated from the French

CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION TO ALL SECTIONS[418]

1) The General Council requests all sections to give their delegates formal instructions concerning the advisability of changing the venue of the General Council for 1870-71.

2) In the event of agreement on the change, the General Council will propose Brussels as the venue for the General Council that year.

Written by Karl Marx on July 14, 1870

Translated from the French

EXPLANATORY NOTES

[1] This refers to the General Council which was elected at a regular congress of the International Association held in Brussels (September 6-13, 1868) and which started its work with this meeting, September 22. The Brussels Congress was attended by nearly 100 delegates from Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain; it adopted a highly important decision on the necessity of converting railways, mines and quarries, as well as forests and arable land, into common property; it passed resolutions, proposed by Marx, on shorter working hours, on the use of machinery, on the attitude to be taken towards the Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom; it also adopted the resolution, moved by Friedrich Lessner on behalf of the German delegates, recommending the workers of all countries to study Marx's *Capital* and to facilitate its translation into other languages (see p. 298 of the present volume).

Although Marx did not attend the Congress sessions, he nevertheless took an active part in the preparations for the Congress and drew up the General Council's report for it (see *The General Council of the First International. 1866-1868. Minutes*, Moscow, pp. 324-29. Everywhere below this book is simply referred to as *The General Council. 1866-1868).*

The official report of the Congress was published in: *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte rendu officiel.* Bruxelles, septembre 1868. Supplément au journal *Le Peuple Belge.*

For the publication of the Congress resolutions see Note 370.

p. 31

[2] The *National Sunday League*—philanthropic educational organisation that fought for museums, concert halls and similar institutions to be open to workers on Sundays since they could not visit them on week-days. R. M. Morell was its honorary secretary and the bourgeois radical Baxter Langley was a member of the League's Council. The League met strong opposition from the Church of England and sanctimonious religious organisations which insisted on strict observance of the Sabbath.

As sub-tenant, the General Council used the League's office at 256, High Holborn, London, from June 1868 to February 1872.

p. 31

[3] The report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive*, October 3, 1868, also included the list of the General Council members but, as distinct from the list in the Minute Book, it added Jules Johannard, but excluded Howell and Harriet Law.

The Bee-Hive—British trade union weekly published in London between 1861 and 1876 under the following titles: *The Bee-Hive, The Bee-Hive Newspaper* and *The Penny Bee-Hive*. At its meeting on November 22, 1864, the General Council declared the paper to be an organ of the International; its editors were strongly influenced by bourgeois radicals and reformists (see also Note 261). p. 31

[4] Reference is to the resolutions adopted by the Congress Bureau at its morning session of September 11, 1868, on the payment of membership dues by members of the International Association and on the representation of the branches and sections at the International's congresses. The resolutions and the list of the General Council members were published in the official Congress report (see *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale...*, 22 et 29 septembre 1868). p. 32

[5] Reference is to a letter from Randall to the General Council, dated August 17, 1868, saying that the society he represented deemed it necessary to campaign for the workers' representation in the U.S. legislative bodies. p. 32

[6] See *The General Council. 1866-1868*, pp. 104, 109, 111. p. 32

[7] From January 1866 to June 25, 1867, the General Council rented a room at 18, Bouverie Street; July-August 1867 meetings were held in the room of Maurice, member of the Council, at 16, Castle Street; between August 20, 1867 and May 26, 1868—in the Cleveland Hall, except for the meetings of November 20, 1867, and January 21, 1868, held at Maurice's place; from June 1868 onwards the Council rented the Sunday League's office at 256, High Holborn (see Note 2). p. 32

[8] Reference is apparently to "The Platform of Principles of the National Labour Reform Party" published in several issues of *The Workingman's Advocate* in August 1868 (see also *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 241).

The Workingman's Advocate—weekly of the National Labour Union (see Note 19)—was published in Chicago from 1864 to 1877. The newspaper dealt with questions of the trade union movement and reproduced the International's documents. p. 32

[9] This refers to the Nuremberg Congress of the League of German Workers' Unions, led by August Bebel. The congress took place

on September 5-7, 1868, and came to be an important step in founding a proletarian party in Germany. It adopted a decision to subscribe to the principles of the International Association. Eccarius attended the Nuremberg Congress as the official representative of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. p. 32

[10] Jung spoke at the opening of the Congress on September 6, 1868. The official report on the General Council's activities for 1867-68, drawn up by Marx (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, pp. 324-29), was read by Dupont at an evening session on September 7, 1868. p. 33

[11] The *Reform League*—political centre of the mass reform movement of the British workers—was founded in the spring of 1865 on the initiative and with the participation of the General Council. The reform movement programme and tactics towards bourgeois parties were elaborated under the direct influence of Marx who fought for a British working-class policy independent of these parties. The Reform League put forward the demand for universal manhood suffrage. However, the League failed to carry out the line worked out by the General Council owing to the vacillation of the bourgeois radicals among the League's leaders who were frightened by the mass movement, and to the conciliatory policy pursued by the trade union leaders. The British bourgeoisie managed to split the movement, and in 1867 a curtailed reform was carried out which granted suffrage only to the petty bourgeoisie and to top sections of the working class. p. 33

[12] This refers to the second congress of the *League of Peace and Freedom* held in Berne on September 21-25, 1868. The League was founded in 1867 by petty-bourgeois and bourgeois republicans and liberals. Victor Hugo, Mikhail Bakunin, Giuseppe Garibaldi and others took an active part in founding the League. p. 33

[13] Lucraft spoke at an evening session on September 7, 1868, on the proletariat's attitude towards wars and put forward a demand for abolishing standing armies (see *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale...*, 9 septembre 1868). p. 34

[14] César De Paepe was the only delegate from the Belgian sections at the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867). At the Brussels Congress (1868) the Belgians had more than 50 delegates out of the total of 100 Congress delegates. p. 34

[15] In its leading article, *The Times* (September 15, 1868) asserted, in connection with the Brussels Congress decisions on strikes and the use of machinery, that the interests of capital and labour

were identical and that machinery "has conferred upon the poorer classes benefits incalculably greater than it has brought to the rich". On September 16, the leading article in *The Morning Advertiser*, while not referring directly to *The Times*, criticised this proposition and admitted that in bourgeois society the interests of labour and capital were antagonistic and that the introduction of machinery had brought unemployment and deprived the workers of the means of subsistence by ousting them from production. p. 35

[16] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, October 3, 1868. p. 35

[17] Reference is to *Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs reuni à Lausanne du 2 au 8 septembre 1867*. Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867. p. 36

[18] Reference is to the Brussels Congress Minutes published in *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (see Note 1). p. 36

[19] The *National Labour Union* was founded in the U.S.A., at a congress in Baltimore, in August 1866. William Sylvis, a prominent leader in the American labour movement, took an active part in founding it. Soon the Union established contacts with the International Working Men's Association. At the Chicago Congress of the Union, held in August 1867, Trevellick was elected delegate to the next International's congress but was unable to attend. For the relations between the National Labour Union and the International see notes 28, 133, 179, 201, 207, 355. p. 36

[20] Marx wrote about the General Council's decision in his letters to William Jessup, October 28, 1868, and to Siegfried Meyer and August Vogt, of the same date. p. 36

[21] Cohn apparently referred to Point 6 of the Brussels Congress programme ("The Best Means for Founding Co-operative Production Societies"). Cohn was the only General Council member who spoke on the question at the Congress. He said: "The worker looks first for work, and then for the guarantee of work. Is there work today, and is there any certainty, when there is work, that it will still be there to-morrow?

"The existing system of oppression and intimidation should be opposed to the new principle of co-operation. We should not raise the question of whether it would result in creating the fifth social-estate. What we should think of is whether the public can utilise it to put an end to intimidation and to provide the worker with constant work and decent wages."

The affiliation of the Brussels cigar-makers to the International Working Men's Association was announced at the Brussels Congress, on September 13, 1868 (see *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale...*, 24 septembre 1868). p. 37

[22] The General Council put forward the question on the consequences of the use of machinery under capitalism, for discussion by all sections, on January 28, 1868. Before this question was included in the Brussels Congress agenda, it was dealt with by the Council at its meetings on July 28 and August 4. Marx opened the discussion and set forth the basic ideas which he later developed in Volume I of his *Capital* (in the chapter "Machinery and Modern Industry"). Summing up the discussion at the Council meeting on August 4, Marx proposed that the General Council's conclusions be shaped in the form of a resolution. He drew up the text of the resolution, which was approved by the General Council at its next meeting, August 11 (see *The General Council, 1866-1868*, pp. 231-34, 236-39, 240).

At the Brussels Congress, in the session of September 9, Eccarius moved this resolution in his name (see *The Times*, September 14, 1868, and *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale...*, 11 septembre 1868). This material was included in the motivating section of the Congress resolution. To explain the General Council's stand on this question, Lessner spoke at the same session and read some extracts from *Capital* (see also p. 293 of the present volume). p. 38

[23] Concerning Eccarius's conduct at the Brussels Congress Marx wrote to Engels on September 16, 1868: "They are very displeased with Eccarius, and next Tuesday a storm will break out for his benefit. He is accused of the following:

"He took *practically no part* in the Congress and later presented himself in *The Times* as its leading mind. He assumed on himself, in the same correspondence, the *General Council's proposals* and attributed to himself the applause that accompanied these proposals. He kept silent about the speeches by *others* and, to please *The Times, distorted* the concluding part of Dupont's speech. Lessner, moreover, had the grievance that when he (Lessner) cited from my book (*Capital—Ed.*) Eccarius ignored the fact in *The Times*, and it was also under great pressure that he inserted the resolution on the book in his correspondence, and, finally, he distorted the German *resolution* on the war. He says that a European war would have been a civil war instead of saying, as in the German resolution, that 'a war between France and Germany was a civil war *for the profit of Russia*'. He omits the latter point altogether. But he ascribes to Germans and Englishmen the Belgian absurdity—*to strike* against war." p. 38

[24] In his letter to Engels, dated October 10, 1868, Marx wrote in connection with this: "Mr. Odger, as you know, stood for Chel-

sea, I suppose without any chances for success. The whole of the last year Odger gave us the cold shoulder since the time when, on my proposal, the title 'The *President* of the International Working Men's Association', and hence 'President' Odger, was abolished once and for all. Now he expresses thanks for his re-election at the Brussels Congress and asks for support for his candidature by addressing a letter to his electioneering committee. We meet his wish only because this is a step that is useful to the International and will draw the attention of the London workmen to it." p. 39

[25] This refers to the Irish Church Bill submitted by Gladstone to the British Parliament in 1869. Under this Bill the Church of England in Ireland was separated from the state and put on a par with the Catholic and Presbyterian Church. However, it continued to be the biggest landowner exploiting the Irish peasants. The Irish Church Law was passed by the British Parliament in July 1869.

p. 40

[26] This refers to the delegate meeting of about a hundred London trade unions held on October 14, 1868, at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey. Karl Marx and Hermann Jung attended it as the General Council's delegates. The meeting discussed a new Bill. Drafted by a group of trade union leaders, it was to grant the unions the rights of juridical persons, free them of the money responsibility for the damage caused by the strikers to the factory owners and guarantee legal protection for their funds. The question was raised by the British trade unions in connection with the work of the special royal commission (see Note 75). The report of this meeting and the new Bill were published in *The Bee-Hive*, October 17, 1868.

The *London Trades Council* was first elected at a conference of London trade unions held in May 1860. Heading the many-thousand organised London workers, the Council was quite influential among the British workers. In the early 1860s it guided the British labour movement against the intervention in the U.S.A., in defence of Poland and Italy, and later came out for the legalisation of the trade unions. The leaders of the following large trade unions played a big role in the Council: the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Cremer and Applegarth), the Shoemakers' Society (Odger), the Operative Bricklayers' Society (Coulson and Howell), the Amalgamated Engineers (Allan); all of them, except for Allan, were General Council members.

From the very first days of the International's existence Marx fought against the union leaders' reformism and craft narrow-mindedness and did his best to draw the broad mass of British workers into the International, trying, on the one hand, to get the local trade union organisations affiliated to it and, on the

other, to induce the London Trades Council to join the International as a British section. The question of affiliation to the International was discussed, on the initiative of the British members of the General Council, at several meetings of the London Trades Council; on January 14, 1867, the latter adopted a resolution approving the International Association's principles but, at the same time, categorically refusing to establish any ties with the Association. After this, the contact between the London Trades Council and the International was, as before, kept through the General Council members who were on the London Trades Council. p. 40

[27] Before the clipping from *The Times* pasted into the Minute Book and containing the Brussels resolution urging the workers to study Marx's *Capital* (see p. 298 of the present volume), the following words are written in Lessner's hand: "The resolution quoted below was adopted at a meeting on September 11", and after the clipping: "Just now I have learned, through the publisher of this work, that the same book is being published in Russian in St. Petersburg. So, these Russians who are constantly criticised beat the progressive English and the noisy French. I hope this event will put these people to shame. Early October, 1868. London. Friedrich Lessner."

between pp. 40-41

[28] Reference is to the third congress of the National Labour Union, U.S.A. (see Note 19), held in New York from September 21 to 26, 1868. The congress adopted a decision to form an independent labour party (The National Labour Reform Party) and worked out the basic principles of its programme. It put forward the following demands: granting of land only to the settlers who themselves cultivate it; formation of a Labour Department; observance of the laws on an eight-hour working day and equal rights for men and women. The congress called on Negroes to join the movement. However, by opposing the new party's participation in the presidential elections, the congress essentially came out against working-class political struggle.

The report of this congress, published in the New York newspaper *World*, was sent to the General Council by William Jessup, Corresponding Secretary of the National Labour Union, together with his letter to Eccarius, dated October 3, 1868, which was read at this meeting of the General Council. In this letter Jessup also thanked Marx for sending him a copy of *The Times*, of September 9, 1868, containing the General Council's report (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, pp. 324-29). p. 41

[29] The so-called *French branch in London* was founded in the autumn of 1865. Besides proletarian elements (Paul Lafargue, Hermann Jung, Eugène Dupont, Johann Eccarius), the branch included representatives of the petty-bourgeois émigrés (Le Lubez and

others). At its meeting in the Cleveland Hall, London, held on June 29, 1868, to mark the anniversary of the June 1848 uprising of the Paris proletariat, Félix Pyat delivered a speech urging terrorist acts against Napoleon III. The Brussels newspaper *La Cigale* carried a report of this meeting in which Félix Pyat was described as one of the leaders of the International. Other newspapers echoed this assertion. The General Council held that this could discredit the International Association in the eyes of the workers and provide the Bonapartist government with the pretext it so desired for persecuting members of the International in France and Belgium. Therefore, at its meeting on July 7, 1868, the General Council adopted on Marx's suggestion a decision to disavow Pyat's speech by publishing a special resolution (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 224).

After the resolution had appeared in the newspapers, a split took place in the French branch in London of which Félix Pyat was a member. The proletarian elements left the branch having expressed their disapproval of its adventurist and provocative tactics. Concerning the General Council's disavowal of the French branch see pp. 235-36 of the present volume. p. 41

[30] This apparently refers to the meeting of the French branch in London held on October 20, 1868. p. 42

[31] The entry is not exact. This refers to the implementation of the General Council's decision adopted on October 6, 1868, concerning the publication of the resolutions of the Geneva and Basle congresses. p. 43

[32] Reference is to the *Democratic Labour Union* that was formed in October 1868 following a split in the Berlin Workers' Union. A leading role in founding the new Union was played by Eichhoff, Weiss and other members of the Berlin section of the International Association. This Union joined the League of German Workers' Unions headed by Bebel and Liebknecht (see Note 9) and adopted its programme based on the International's principles. Nearly all the members of the Democratic Labour Union were also members of the International Working Men's Association. The Union actively opposed the Lassalleans; Wilhelm Liebknecht often spoke at its meetings. In 1869 it entered the Social-Democratic Workers' Party founded at a congress in Eisenach. p. 43

[33] Reference is to the address by the Central Committee of the Geneva sections to the Spanish workers issued in connection with the revolution in Spain. Drawn up by Mikhail Bakunin, it was published, on October 21, 1868, as a separate pamphlet entitled *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs de Genève. Aux Ouvriers espagnols.* Genève. The address was also printed

in *La Tribune du Peuple* No. 10, November 8, and in *Der Vorbote* No. 12, December 1868.

La Tribune du Peuple—Belgian democratic paper, published in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869. The paper, in effect, became the International's organ in Belgium in August 1865, and officially so in January 1866. De Paepe, Lafargue and other members of the International Association helped with the paper.

Der Vorbote—monthly organ of the German-speaking sections of the International—was published in Geneva from 1866 to 1871; Becker was its editor-in-chief. p. 43

[34] The decision expelling Pierre Vésinier from the International was adopted by the Brussels section at its meeting held on October 26, 1868. The General Council was informed of this by the section in its letter of October 26, and by Vandenhouten's letters to Bernard (October 28 and November 1, 1868). At this meeting of the General Council (November 3) the Secretary for Belgium read Vandenhouten's letter of October 28, 1868. The General Council's recommendation to publish the section's decision expelling Vésinier from the International was not fulfilled; as Vandenhouten wrote to Bernard on December 19, 1868, it was not published for tactical considerations so as to conceal it from the police.

For the *French branch in London* see Note 29. p. 45

[35] This decision was published in *The Bee-Hive* No. 371, November 21, 1868 (see also p. 298 of the present volume). p. 46

[36] The Minutes of the General Council meeting held in November 17, 1868, were not recorded in the Minute Book. On November 18, Marx wrote to Engels concerning this meeting: "Last night, in the Central Council, the English admitted too late, but unanimously, that I literally predicted to them the highly amusing upshot of the elections and at the same time criticised the false policy of the Reform League." Marx refers to the first elections to the British Parliament after the electoral reform of 1867. During those elections in the autumn of 1868, in particular, Odger was defeated; he had been a candidate for Chelsea (see Note 244). p. 46

[37] Reference is to a letter by the Saxon miners of Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz, dated November 15, 1868, informing the General Council of their decision to join the International. p. 46

[38] Reference is to the pamphlet by Wilhelm Eichhoff entitled *Die Internationale Arbeiterassociation. Ihre Gründung. Organisation, politisch-sociale Thätigkeit und Ausbreitung*, which was written on Marx's advice. Marx provided Eichhoff with a plan, all the necessary material and, as seen from Eichhoff's letters, himself wrote some parts of it. p. 46

[39] Reference is to the brass plate (*cliché*) from which membership cards of the International Working Men's Association were printed. The form of the membership card was first approved by the Standing Committee in November 1864. The card was for persons joining the International in their individual capacities and for members of workers' societies adhering to the organisation in their corporate capacity, and was given by the General Council upon payment of their annual contribution. However, the British trade unions that joined the International between 1865 and 1868 in large bodies, did not, as a rule, receive cards for each member. The International's sections on the Continent began issuing their own membership cards as they took shape as organisations. The General Council's cards were used only in countries where the International's organisations could not function legally and individual members were connected directly with the General Council. This system was widespread in Germany, Austria and partly—at different periods—in France, Italy, Spain and other countries.

The original card bore the handwritten signatures of the General Council's President, Treasurer, General Secretary and Corresponding Secretaries. Thus Marx, in his capacity as Corresponding Secretary for Germany, had to sign in the first months of the International's existence more than 1,500 cards. Later, on Marx's initiative, only the General Secretary had to sign the cards, the signatures of the other Council officials being included in the *cliché* and printed. Therefore, from time to time, the General Council had to modify the *cliché* in order to make the signatures conform to Council changes. Originally the cards were numbered by hand. On December 26, 1865, it was decided to number the cards fresh from the printing-house by a special machine; copies have survived from the 6,000th series. But the numbering of cards met with objections, mainly because of conspiracy consideration, and in 1868 the cards ceased to be numbered. Further, the name of the card, "member's annual subscription card", was replaced by a shorter one, "card of membership." p. 50

[40] Reference is to a letter by Charles Perron to Hermann Jung, dated December 3, 1868, in which he wrote about the cessation of publication of *La Voix de l'Avenir* and about steps taken for the publication of the newspaper *L'Egalité* as the organ of the Romance sections of the International. Perron asked Marx, Eccarius and Jung to contribute to the paper (see also Note 368). Jung's letter of December 6 and Eccarius's letter of December 2, written in reply to Perron's, were published in a special issue of *L'Egalité* on December 16, 1868. Besides, the editors of the newspaper wrote the following note: "Citizen Marx brings to the notice of the commission that, to his great misfortune, his health and the great amount of work make it impossible for him to con-

tribute to the newspaper. Nevertheless, we hope that from time to time this brave advocate of the working class will contribute to the organ of the Romance sections in Switzerland."

L'Egalité was published in Geneva until 1872 as the organ of the Romance Federation of the International (see Notes 66, 227, 233, 267, 278, 290).

For the other letter from Switzerland see Note 42. p. 51

[41] The meeting that was convened to decide the form of reception for U.S. Ambassador Reverdy Johnson, was held at 8, Adelphi Terrace, on December 3, 1868, under the chairmanship of Edmond Beales. The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, December 5, 1868. p. 51

[42] Becker also wrote about this to the General Council on November 29, 1868, on behalf of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections. He referred to Bebel, not to Liebknecht, as the author of this statement on membership fees. Becker also wrote of the International Association's successes in Italy, Spain, France, Germany and Austria. p. 53

[43] *L'Alliance internationale de la démocratie socialiste* was founded by Mikhail Bakunin in Geneva in October 1868. Besides Bakunin its Provisional Committee included Brosset, Duval, Gaetat, Perron, Zagorsky and J. Ph. Becker. On November 29, 1868, Becker sent to the General Council the programme and rules of the Alliance, enclosed in the letter mentioned in Note 42. These documents were read at this (December 15) meeting of the General Council.

For the programme and rules of the Alliance containing Marx's remarks see pp. 273-78 of the present volume. p. 53

[44] The entry is not exact: it was Marx who was instructed to reply to the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. p. 54

[45] The opening of the Constituent Cortès convened in the course of the Spanish bourgeois revolution was scheduled for February 11, 1869. p. 54

[46] These data were given by Vandenhouten in his letter to Bernard written on December 19, 1868. p. 55

[47] This apparently refers to some extracts from *La Liberté* No. 50, December 5, 1868, describing the attacks made by the Swiss bourgeois newspapers *Journal de Genève* and *Gazette de Berne* against the International Working Men's Association. p. 55

[48] The resolutions on the attitude towards the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 12) were adopted by the Brussels Congress of the International on September 12, 1868, in connection with

the invitation received by the International to attend the League's Congress in Berne in September 1868 (see pp. 297-98 of the present volume). The invitation was made by the League on the initiative of Bakunin who was a member of its Central Committee and sought to subordinate the International Association to the League's leadership. Perron and Becker were among the people who had signed the programme of the Alliance and who attended the Brussels Congress. p. 56

[49] This refers to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Turkey and Greece in connection with the fact that the Greek Government supported the inhabitants of Crete who in 1866 started an uprising against Turkish oppression. Between January and February 1869 the Crete uprising was put down as a result of interference by the West European countries which demanded that Greece should stop aiding the insurgents. p. 56

[50] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, January 16, 1869; this report also included some information about the Council meetings of November 3 and 24 and December 22, 1868. p. 57

[51] Here comes a gap in the Minute Book. The text of the resolution was published in *The Bee-Hive*, January 16, 1869, in the report of this General Council meeting: "That in the opinion of this Council the attempt of the employers of Rouen, of the Northern and other departments of France, to reduce the wages of their work-people with the avowed object of underselling the manufacturers of England in their own markets is deserving the reprobation of the workmen and employers of all nations. That while recognising the right of free competition carried on by legitimate means, we utterly deprecate the extension of trade by reducing the wages of work-people already underpaid.

"Resolved.—That the various societies be invited to send delegates to the next meeting of the Council, to be held on Tuesday 19 inst. at eight p.m., to devise the best means to frustrate the unwarrantable attempts of the French manufacturer, and to render to the workmen concerned such assistance as they may need."

A version of this resolution is also to be found in brief sketches made by Jung at the meetings of October 6, December 15 and 22, 1868, and January 5, 1869: "Reap every advantage of improved machinery, sub-divisions of labour or the development of skill. Yet utterly deprecate the extension of trade by reducing the wages of work-people already underpaid." p. 58

[52] The relief to the Paris bronze-workers was given by the English trade unions, with the General Council's help, during their strike that began in February 1867 over the employers' demand that

the workers should leave their Bronze-Workers' Credit Society. It ended on March 24 with victory for the workers who managed to preserve their society (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, pp. 99, 101, etc.). p. 58

[53] The French weavers' strike at Sotteville-lès-Rouen in December 1868 was dealt with by Marx in the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see pp. 331-32 of the present volume) and in his letter to Engels dated January 13, 1869. p. 58

[54] The Basle ribbon-weavers' strike started on November 9, 1868. Marx described the Swiss workers' economic struggle waged in the winter of 1868-69 in the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see pp. 326-30 of the present volume). p. 59

[55] An Inaugural Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International was held on December 25, 1868. It elected a Federal Council for Belgium consisting of 17 members and approved the rules of the federation. In his letter to Jung, dated January 7, 1869, and read at this meeting of the General Council, De Paepe also wrote that the newly formed Belgian Federal Council supported the General Council's policy towards the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and thought that the latter's adhesion to the International would have led to a split in the International Working Men's Association. p. 59

[56] In his letter to Eccarius, dated January 12, 1869, R. Pattison, Secretary of the Portmanteau and Trunk-Makers' Society, informed him that John Warren had been elected delegate of that society to the General Council. p. 60

[57] Lessner apparently raised the question on the English workers' participation in the elections to Parliament. p. 61

[58] This was reported by Vandenhouten in his two letters, of January 20, 1869, written to Bernard, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium. Fearing that the money for contributions might be lost, he divided the bank-notes into two halves and enclosed them in two different letters. He asked the General Council to help the Brussels Marble Polishers' Society to establish contacts with marble polishers in England. p. 62

[59] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, February 6, 1869; it contained a more detailed exposition of the letter (dated January 26, 1869, and mentioned below in the Minutes) from the International's section at Basle. p. 62

[60] The funeral took place on January 30, 1869, at the Ardwick cemetery in Manchester. Concerning the English workers' demonstration in memory of Ernest Jones see Note 71. p. 63

[61] This was reported by Vandenhouten in his letter to Bernard, dated January 26, 1869.

La Cigale—a weekly newspaper published in Brussels from December 1867 to July 1869 by French Left-wing republicans; was in close contact with the Félix Pyat group. p. 63

[62] In its letter of January 26, 1869, the International's section in Basle (see Note 59) cites different figures: "The silk-dyers' strike continues: a) the greater part of them—480-500 men—struck from December 26, 1868, to January 5, 1869; b) the smaller part—about 150 men—has been on strike since December 26, and at present the strike is still going on." p. 63

[63] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, February 13, 1869. p. 65

[64] Reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Association* (Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein) founded in London in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just. In the early years of its existence the association was strongly influenced by the utopian, equalitarian communism of Wilhelm Weitling. With the organisation of the Communist League, leadership of the association passed to the League's local sections. The Educational Association was in close contact with the English socialists and Chartists, with the organisation of the Fraternal Democrats (see Note 109) and the French Social-Democrats. Marx and Engels actively participated in its work in 1847 and from 1849 to 1850. From November 1849 to September 1850, Marx read a series of lectures there on political economy and on the basic ideas of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

On September 17, 1850, Marx and Engels and several of their followers withdrew from the association when it came out in support of the minority in the dispute between the majority of the Communist League's Central Committee, led by Marx and Engels, and the sectarian adventurist minority (the Willich-Schapper faction). Between the late fifties and 1868 Marx again took an active part in the work of this association.

Besides its headquarters at 2, Nassau Street, Soho, in the tavern of Heinrich Bolleter, the association, in the sixties, had two branches in East and South London, the Eintracht and the Teutonia. After the founding of the International, many of the association's members—Eccarius, Kaub, Lessner, Bolleter, Lochner and others—were elected to the General Council where they played a notable role. In January 1865 the German Workers'

Educational Association joined, in its corporate capacity, the International (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 62-64). p. 65

[65] *Der Arbeiter*—a Swiss weekly paper, organ of the Basle sections; was published from September 26, 1868, to February 20, 1869. p. 65

[66] This refers to the rules drawn up by Bakunin and adopted at an inaugural congress of the federation of Romance sections of the International held on January 2-4, 1869 ("Statuts pour la Fédération des sections romandes adoptés par le congrès Romands, tenu a Genève au Cercle international des Quatre-Saisons, les 2, 3 et 4 janvier 1869." Genève, 1869). Attended by delegates from thirty sections, the Congress elected a Federal Council (Brosset, H. Perret, Gaetat, N. Perret, Martin, Duval and Chanoz) and an editorial board of *L'Egalité* consisting of Bakunin, Crosset, H. Perret, Ch. Perron, Guillaume, Mermillod, Paillard, Waehry and Johann Ph. Becker. Most of the members of the Federal Council and of the *Egalité* editorial board were Bakuninists. p. 65

[67] Reference is to the elections to the French Legislative Corps to be held on May 23-24, 1869. p. 66

[68] The newspaper report of this meeting (*The Bee-Hive*, February 20, 1869) says that in one Belgian village, Jupille, the sermon of a local priest against the International Association aroused an interest in this organisation among the villagers. The result of the sermon was "an invitation of delegates from Liège to convene a meeting with the view of establishing a branch at Jupille". p. 67

[69] The data given by Jung are to be found in *Der Arbeiter* No. 6 and *L'Egalité* No. 4, February 13, 1869. p. 68

[70] This refers to a note published on February 13, 1869, in *L'Egalité* under the title "Genève, 11 février 1869. La Ligue internationale de la paix et de la liberté". It repudiated the attacks made by *Les Etats-Unis d'Europe*, the organ of the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 12), against the Brussels Congress decisions of the International and exposed the nature of Swiss republicanism as a "regime under which the bourgeoisie have complete freedom without losing any of their privileges". The note emphasised that this ideal of bourgeois democracy will never become the working people's ideal. p. 68

[71] The demonstration in memory of Ernest Jones, buried in Manchester on January 30, 1869 (see Note 60), was held in London

on March 26, 1869. Besides English workers, the French and Germans took part in the demonstration. The German workers carried a banner with "Workers of All Countries, Unite!" inscribed on it. *The Bee-Hive* and *The Times*, March 27, 1869, reported the demonstration. p. 69

[72] The *Bee-Hive* report of this meeting (February 27, 1869) gives data on the miners' strike in Iserlohn (Westphalia). p. 70

[73] This report, read by Marx at this Council meeting, was drawn up at his request by Engels between February 17 and 21, 1869 (see pp. 302-09 of the present volume). The material was sent by the Saxon miners from Lugau, Nieder-Würschnitz and Oelsnitz who expressed their wish to join the International Association (see Note 37). On February 13, 1869, Marx wrote to Engels: "These brave miners are the first in Germany to enter into direct ties with us, and we must publicly support them." p. 71

[74] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive* on March 6, 1869. The newspaper report contains information about the end of the Iserlohn miners' strike (see Note 72). The strikers got the employers partially to satisfy their demands (introduction of eight-hour working day, etc.). p. 72

[75] The Commission Appointed to Make Inquiry Respecting the English Trade Unions was set up in February 1867 because of their increasing activities which alarmed the English ruling classes. The royal commission failed to advance any accusations that could enable it to outlaw the unions. In a report submitted to Parliament in March 1869 the commission spoke in favour of a certain improvement in the condition of the trade unions but demanded that workers' organisations should be registered, their documents be examined by the authorities, and the members of one trade union be prohibited to support the strikers of another trade union, etc.

On April 9, 1869, Thomas Hughes, a member of the commission, and Mundella, M.P., submitted, in the name of the commission majority, a Trade Union Bill which they removed after its second reading on July 12, 1869 (see Notes 26 and 150).

The Trade Union Act was passed in 1871. p. 73

[76] Reference is to the pamphlet signed "An Actuary" and entitled *Life Assurance Companies: their Financial Condition. Discussed, with Reference to Impending Legislation, in a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P., First Lord of the Treasury*. London, 1869, p. 6. p. 73

[77] The information about the founding of a section in Naples was published in *L'Egalité* No. 6, February 27, 1869. The same issue

reported on the collection of money at Nice for the Basle workers on strike. p. 74

[78] Reference is apparently to members of the London Secular Society. p. 74

[79] Reference is to the letter by the Central Bureau of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy written on February 27, 1869, in reply to the General Council's letter of December 22, 1868 (see pp. 299-301 of the present volume). Information about this letter is to be found in Eccarius's letter to Marx, dated March 4, in Marx's letter to Engels of March 5, and in a letter of Engels to Marx, dated March 7, 1869.

In this letter, the Central Bureau of the Alliance expressed its readiness to dissolve its international organisation provided the General Council admitted its sections into the International Association. The Bureau also demanded that the General Council should give its opinion of the Alliance's programme.

The General Council's reply to this letter, approved at this Council meeting (March 3, 1869), was drawn up by Marx who had discussed it with Engels, and confidentially sent out to all sections of the International (see pp. 310-11 of the present volume).

Having acquainted themselves with the General Council's reply, Bakunin and his followers publicly declared that they had dissolved the International Alliance; nevertheless they preserved it as a secret organisation. Its actual centre was the section of the International named "Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section", which was founded in Geneva in May 1869. p. 75

[80] This was published in *L'Egalité* No. 7, March 6, 1869. p. 75

[81] The note saying that the workers of Sostegno (Italy) have sent some money to the Basle workers was published in *L'Egalité* No. 9, March 20, 1869. The same issue carried a letter by the Madrid section of the International written in reply to the address by the Central Committee of the Geneva sections to the Spanish workers made on October 21, 1868 (see Note 33). The Spanish workers asked the editors to forward their letter to the General Council in London. p. 77

[82] The news about the beginning of the strike by the Geneva building workers was contained in a letter of the Romance Federal Council to Jung, dated March 18, 1869. Documents relating to the strike were also published in *L'Egalité* No. 9, March 20, 1869. The striking workers' address to the workers of the whole world calling for assistance was signed on March 11 by the committee of building workers, members of the International Working Men's Association. It was published in *L'Egalité* No. 10, March 27, and in *Le Progrès* No. 7, April 3, 1869.

Le Progrès—a Bakuninist newspaper which in the autumn of 1869 began openly to come out against the General Council; was published in French in Locle from December 1868 to April 1870 under the editorship of Guillaume. p. 77

[83] This refers to the beginning of a strike by the Geneva printers. At their general meeting, held on March 14, 1869, the workers of the Geneva printshops endorsed the price list worked out by a commission set up for the purpose, and submitted it to the employers for approval. The latter, however, refused to consider these demands, and on March 20 the printers went on strike. The news about the strike and the article describing in detail how the price list had been worked out were published in *L'Egalité* No. 10, March 27, 1869. p. 78

[84] The entry is not exact. Reference is to the fact that La Rigaudière, announcing the publication of the bourgeois democrats' newspaper *La Fraternité* (see *L'Egalité* No. 5, February 20, 1869), included Elie and Elisée Reclus among its editors. The next issue of *L'Egalité* carried a letter by Elisée Reclus in which he categorically protested, on his own behalf and on behalf of his brother and others, against their names being included in the list of editors despite their refusal to take part in the newspaper. Elisée Reclus's second letter dealing with some details of this matter was also published in *L'Egalité* No. 9, March 20, 1869. p. 78

[85] The entry is not exact. In March-July 1869 the British Parliament discussed the Life Insurance Companies Bill. Some British bourgeois newspapers, including the most influential of them—*The Times* and *The Economist*—launched a campaign against this Bill being opposed to state interference in the affairs of private companies. p. 78

[86] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive* on April 10, 1869. The newspaper report gives a more detailed account of the letter from the Romance Federal Council dated April 1, 1869. p. 79

[87] This was reported in a letter from the Romance Federal Council sent to London on April 1, 1869, by its Secretary Henri Perret and read at this meeting of the General Council. Simultaneously, Perret forwarded to the Council the letter of the Lausanne tailors' section mentioned below in the Minutes. p. 80

[88] The Brussels letter is from Vandenhouten to Bernard, dated March 21, 1869. The entry is not quite clear: Vandenhouten wrote that the treasurer was putting into order the finances of the Belgian Federal Council because, prior to the formation of this Council, the Brussels section had accepted fees not only from its own

members, but also from other Belgian sections. In order to work out finally the number of sections in the provinces it was necessary to examine the Brussels section documents. p. 81

[89] Reference is to the *General Association of German Workers* (Allgemeine-Deutsche-Arbeiter-Verein)—first nation-wide organisation of German workers founded on May 23, 1863, at a congress of workers' societies in Leipzig. From the outset, the Association came under the strong influence of Lassalle who took a direct part in its foundation and became its first President. Its activities were limited to the struggle for universal suffrage and to peaceful parliamentary work. It rejected the day-to-day working-class economic struggle, and advocated the formation of producers' associations, subsidised by the state, which it regarded as the basic means for resolving social contradictions. On foreign policy questions, the Association adopted a nationalistic stand and therefore supported the Prussian Government's reactionary policy and unification of Germany from above, by means of dynastic wars.

Wholly influenced by the Lassalleans, the General Association of German Workers came to be an obstacle for founding a genuinely workers' party in Germany. The formation of the International Working Men's Association, the spread of Marxist ideas in the German working-class movement, and the consistent struggle Marx and Engels waged against the opportunist activities of the Lassallean leaders caused the advanced German workers to withdraw from this Association and helped to found, at a congress in Eisenach held in 1869, the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party headed by Bebel and Liebknecht. p. 82

[90] This refers to the speeches made by Schweitzer and Fritzsche on March 17 and by Bebel on March 18, 1869, in the North-German Reichstag during the discussion of the regulations for handicraft trades (Gewerbeordnung). Bebel demanded that factory labour be regulated by law; he demanded introduction of the 10-hour working day, prohibition of Sunday work, institution of factory inspection, freedom of association for trade union organisations, etc. Of the numerous amendments only Bebel's proposition abolishing "workers' books" was adopted. On May 29 the bill was passed (see "Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages der Norddeutschen Bundes. I. Legislatur-Periode-Session 1869." Erster Band, Berlin, 1869. S. 114-19, 124 und 146-48). p. 82

[91] In the report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive*, April 17, 1869, the letter from Belgium is expounded in greater detail. p. 82

[92] In the latter half of the 1860s, relations between France and Italy took a sharp turn for the worse due to Napoleon III sending his

troops to defend the temporal power of the Pope; on November 3, 1867, the French corps and the Pope's riflemen defeated a detachment of Garibaldians in the battle of Mentana.

On February 24, 1869, taking advantage of the arrival of American Ambassador Johnson in England, the French branch in London (see Note 29) held a meeting which approved an address to Grant, the U.S. President. In the name of the French workers and republicans of 1848, it asked Grant for assistance in the struggle against Napoleon III. The address to Grant and the report of the meeting were published in *La Cigale* on February 28 and March 7, 1869. p. 83

[93] This refers to the Second General Congress of the British Trade Unions held in Birmingham from August 23 to 28, 1869. The Congress resolved to fight for an eight-hour working day for the United Kingdom and called on all workers' organisations to join the International Working Men's Association. Marx included the text or this resolution into the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see p. 341 of the present volume). p. 84

[94] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, April 24, 1869. p. 85

[95] This refers to: *Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs...* (see Note 1).

Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866. Genève, 1866.

Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réuni à Lausanne... (see Note 17). p. 85

[96] This refers to *Publication du Cercle d'Etudes de l'arrondissement de Rouen. Rapport sur les travaux et la marche du Cercle depuis le 23 août 1868 lu dans la dernière assemblée générale du 7 février 1869 suivi du compte rendu moral et matériel de la Grève de Sotteville-lès-Rouen. Paris*, [1869]. p. 85

[97] Reference is to the massacre of Parisians during the suppression of the uprising of the workers and petty bourgeoisie against the regime of the July Monarchy that took place on April 13-14, 1834. In one of the houses on rue Transnonain, all its inhabitants, young and old, were killed because soldiers thought a shot had been fired from there. p. 87

[98] Reference is to the so-called *Brussels Liberation Section* (or the *Revolutionary Committtee of the International Association*) founded by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois republicans in Brussels in April 1869. The manifesto of this organisation, connected as it was with the French branch in London (see Note 29), was published in *La Cigale* No. 16, April 18, 1869. One of the leaders

of the section was a former police chief. Its provocative activities and calls for plunder and violence provided the Belgian police with a pretext for persecuting members of the International Association. The letter read at this meeting of the General Council was written by Vandenhouten to Bernard on April 14, 1869. The letter stated that the section had established contacts with all elements that "preach anarchy, call on everybody to burn, to kill . . . and, having convinced themselves that their frank speeches are not heeded, resorted to intrigues against the Brussels section and the Belgian Federal Council to disorganise the Association". p. 89

[99] The news that the Geneva building workers had stopped their strike was published in *L'Egalité* No. 13, April 17, 1869. The same issue carried a note announcing that the Bootclosers' Society wanted to join the International Association. "That will be the twenty-sixth section of the International in Geneva", wrote *L'Egalité*. p. 89

[100] Reference is to the address of the Belgian Federal Council to the workers of Seraing and its environs ("Adresse du Conseil général belge aux ouvriers de Seraing et des environs"), protesting against the massacre of Belgian workers and calling on the Seraing workers to join the International Working Men's Association. The address was published in *L'Internationale* No. 14, April 18, 1869, and reprinted in *L'Egalité* No. 14, April 24, 1869. Besides, in April 1869 *L'Internationale* carried protests from individual Belgian sections (Liège, etc.).

The address of the Romance Federal Committee ("Adresse du Comité Fédéral Romand. Au Conseil Général des Sections Belges"), mentioned in the Minutes, was sent from Geneva on April 20, 1869, and published in *L'Internationale* No. 16, May 2, 1869.

L'Internationale—Belgian weekly newspaper, organ of the Belgian sections of the International; was published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873, De Paepe taking an active part in it. p. 90

[101] The *Bee-Hive* (May 1, 1869) report of this meeting described Cluseret's article in greater detail. The article was reprinted in *L'Internationale* No. 18, May 15, 1869, under the title "Le Peuple français".

Le Peuple—Bonapartist newspaper published in Paris from 1868 to 1870; from February 1869, was published under the title *Le Peuple français*.

La Démocratie—French bourgeois-democratic weekly; appeared in Paris from November 1868 to 1870. p. 91

[102] See Notes 26 and 75. p. 91

[103] On May 8, 1869, Marx wrote to Engels about Harney's letter to the General Council: "Harney of Boston—now Under-Secretary

or something of the sort in Home Department of Commonwealth of Massachusetts (they still say officially "Commonwealth", not "Republic")—has sent the International Council £1 as membership fee and a letter where he asks rather warmly after you. He also wants me to send him a copy of *Capital*. He hopes to find a translator and publisher in New York." p. 92

[104] The appeal Marx read at this meeting was published in leaflet form: "To the Impartial, Intelligent and Sympathising People of the City of New York". One copy of the leaflet was placed in the Minute Book between the Minutes of April 27 and May 4, 1869. The text of the leaflet was reproduced in part in *The Bee-Hive*, May 8, 1869. p. 95

[105] This refers to a letter from the Naples section to the Romance Federal Council dated April 9, 1869, and signed by its President, Caporusso, and Secretary, Riccio, and to the letter of the Federal Centre of the Barcelona workers' societies signed by Raphael Farga Pellicer. Both letters were published in *L'Egalité* No. 15, May 1, 1869.

The same issue of *L'Egalité* published the election programme of a group of Paris workers who found it necessary to nominate labour candidatures in the elections to the Legislative Corps. The programme which was signed by Varlin, Gauthier and other French socialists demanded the abolition of standing armies and the arming of all citizens; separation of the Church from the State; freedom of the press, assembly and organisations; expropriation of financial companies and nationalisation of the banks, canals, railways, etc. p. 95

[106] In the report of this Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* on May 8, 1869, it was also stated that the General Council had decided to translate the address "The Belgian Massacres" into four languages to make it known to the whole world. p. 96

[107] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, May 15, 1869. p. 97

[108] Robert Shaw was elected Secretary for America at a special meeting of the Council held on November 20, 1867 (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 180). Eccarius was instructed to conduct correspondence with the National Labour Union on September 29, 1868 (see p. 36 of the present volume). p. 98

[109] *Fraternal Democrats*—an international democratic society founded in London in 1845, with Marx and Engels participating, by Left-wing Chartists (Harney and Jones) and revolutionary refugees (members of the League of the Just, etc.) with a view to establish-

ing ties between representatives of the proletarian and democratic movements in the different countries. The proletarian core of the society joined the Communist League in 1847. Marx and Engels were in constant contact with the Fraternal Democrats striving to educate its members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and scientific communism and to exercise ideological influence on Chartism through this society. p. 99

[110] This money was sent from Manchester by Engels at Marx's request. p. 100

[111] After the American Civil War (1861-65) the relations between England and the United States continued to be strained. The radical Republicans who after the 1866 elections commanded a majority in both Chambers of the U.S. Congress adopted an anti-English position. Charles Sumner, their leader, demanded at a closed session of the Congress on April 13, 1869, that the government should submit the question of England's responsibility for the privateers' actions to international arbitration. Sumner claimed 2,000 million dollars for the damage caused to the United States by England's violations of neutrality.

In a letter from Goldwin Smith ("The Relations between England and America", *The Bee-Hive*, May 8, 1869), an English economist then living in America, it was stated that after Sumner's speech emigration from England to the U.S.A. looked like being stopped and all English residents being recalled.

In September 1872, the International Tribunal declared England guilty of violation of the principles of neutrality and obliged the English Government to pay 15,500,000 dollars to the U.S.A. p. 100

[112] Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 287). p. 101

[113] Marx, "To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America" (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 51-54). p. 101

[114] "Shoddy aristocrats"—in America—people who got rich quick on the civil war. p. 102

[115] The text of the address in English was published as a separate leaflet entitled "Address to the National Labour Union of the United States" and also in *The Bee-Hive*, May 15, 1869; it was published in German in the newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, May 21 and 22, 1869, and in the magazine *Der Vorbote* No. 8, August 1869. p. 104

[116] Reference is to the elections to the French Legislative Corps (see Note 67).

L'Opinion Nationale—French daily published in Paris between 1859 and 1874 and edited by Adolf Guéroult who was connected with Bonapartist circles. p. 104

[117] The entry is not exact. *L'Egalité* No. 17, May 15, 1869, wrote that the carpenters, painters and plasterers of Lausanne had formed their societies and that the tanners of this city had founded a section of the International Association. Further, the same issue stated that a meeting of 600 workers had been held in Lausanne on Sunday, May 9, 1869; the meeting, at which two delegates of the Romance Federal Council were present, approved of the International Association's activities; the Bricklayers' and Metal-Workers' societies decided to join the Romance Federation of the International. p. 104

[118] These data were published in *L'Egalité* No. 17, May 15, 1869. p. 105

[119] In the report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive*, May 22, 1869, the contents of the newspaper *Volksstimme* were given in greater detail. It said that the Austrian workers were fighting for founding trade organisations and demanding freedom of assembly, association, etc. Several mass meetings were held in Vienna in favour of these demands. It also wrote about the hard labour conditions of the Austrian workers. p. 105

[120] The data about this strike were published in *L'Internationale* No. 18, May 15, 1869. p. 105

[121] This refers to the subscription sheets for help to the Belgian victims. p. 105

[122] This refers to two misprinted figures in the report of the Council meeting of May 18 published in *The Bee-Hive*, May 22, 1869. The errata were included in the report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive*, May 29, 1869. p. 106

[123] This refers to the Paris bronze-workers' strike in 1867 (see Note 52). p. 107

[124] *Der Demokrat aus Baselland*—Swiss weekly published in Basle from 1865 to 1871. In February 1869, the newspaper merged with *Der Arbeiter*, the weekly of the International Association in Basle (see Note 65). p. 107

[125] The manifesto of the Barcelona section ("L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Section de Barcelone aux sections

d'Europe et d'Amérique"), dated May 2, 1869 and signed by José Pellicer and Rafael Farga Pellicer, was reprinted in *L'Egalité* No. 18, May 22, 1869. p. 107

[126] The death of Jeanne Hins, the wife of Eugen Hins, a member of the Belgian Federal Council, aroused great sympathy in the international working-class movement. In the *Bee-Hive* (May 29, 1869) report the circumstances of Jeanne Hins's death were described in greater detail than in the Minute Book. Moreover, the reports on her death and funeral were carried in many newspapers of the International Association in different countries: *L'Internationale* No. 20, May 30; *L'Egalité* No. 19, May 29, 1869, etc. On September 26, 1869, a marble monument was erected at the grave of Jeanne Hins made by marble-workers from Brussels. Delegates from many Belgian sections attended the unveiling of the monument. p. 107

[127] *L'International*—a small French newspaper published in London from 1863 to 1871; semi-official organ of the French Government. p. 107

[128] This was reported in *L'Internationale* No. 20, May 30, 1869. p. 108

[129] The information about the Naples section, founded by Bakunin's followers, was carried in *L'Internationale* No. 20, May 30, 1869. The section temporarily constituted itself as the central section of the International Working Men's Association for Italy. The same issue also published the French translation of the appeal by the Naples section to the Italian workers and wrote about its intention to begin publication of the newspaper *La Fratellanza*. p. 108

[130] The article about the atrocities of the Geneva police ("Les merveilles de la police républicaine") and the protest by the general meeting of the 26 Geneva sections against them were published in *L'Egalité* No. 19, May 29, 1869. *L'Egalité* (the same issue) also published documents pertaining to the Lausanne bricklayers' strike. The *Bee-Hive* (June 5, 1869) report gives more detailed information about this strike. p. 109

[131] Reference is to the money collected by the General Council to help the Belgian victims. p. 109

[132] The Congress of English Co-operative Societies took place in London from May 31 to June 3, 1869. Attended by delegates from over 500 societies and some General Council members (Lessner and others), the congress discussed the following questions: the strengthening of ties between co-operative societies,

the formation of a co-operative bank, the need for special training for co-operators, and, in particular, the use of trade union funds for organising co-operative societies. p. 109

133 This refers to Sylvis's reply to the "Address to the National Labour Union of the United States" (see pp. 101-03 of the present volume). Sylvis's letter was included by Marx in the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see pp. 341-42 of the present volume). It is also to be found, in full, in the *Bee-Hive* (June 12, 1869) report of this meeting of the General Council. p. 109

134 This refers to the elections to the French Legislative Corps (see Note 67). p. 110

135 This refers to an article signed by Delaffosse about the forthcoming congress of the International in Basle published in *La Voix du Peuple* No. 12, May 29, 1869.

La Voix du Peuple—Proudhonist weekly newspaper; came out in Paris in 1869. Its contributors included members of the International Working Men's Association. p. 110

136 Reference is apparently to the first and second trials of the Paris Committee members. At the close of 1867, the French prosecutor gave orders to search the houses of the Paris Committee members, hoping to find proof that the International was a secret society. Such proof was not found, however, and the Paris Committee members were charged with forming a society without the sanction of the authorities. The case was heard in the Paris Police-Court on March 6 and 20, 1868. While under investigation, the fifteen members of the Committee (Chemalé, Tolain, Héligon, Camélinat, Murat, Perrachon, Fournaise, Gauthier, Dauthier, Bellamy, Gérardin, Bastien, Guyard, Delahaye, Delorme) declared the existing Committee to be dissolved and appointed new elections. On March 8, 1868, a second Paris Committee was formed consisting of Bourdon, Varlin, Malon, Combault, Mollin, Landrin, Humbert, Granjon and Charboneau. This resulted in the instigation of a new case, the so-called Second Committee case, which was heard on May 22, 1868. At these two trials and during the hearing of the cases in the Court of Cassation, the accused, almost all of whom refused defence counsel, used their speeches to expound the ideas of the International. Of particular interest is Varlin's speech describing the International's history from 1864 to 1868. The court declared the Paris section to be dissolved and fined the members of the first Paris Committee. The members of the Second Committee came off rather worse: they were fined and given three months' imprisonment each. p. 110

[137] *L'Internationale* No. 21, June 6, 1869. p. 111

[138] This organisation—called the *Labour Representation League*—was set up in the latter half of 1869. Its Executive Committee included General Council members Robert Applegarth, Edwin Coulson, John Hales, George Howell, Thomas Mottershead and others. The League's activities were aimed at promoting the workers' representatives to the British Parliament. The League, however, pursued a conciliatory policy and often made concessions to the Liberal Party. It existed until the early 1880s. p. 111

[139] In connection with the elections to the Legislative Corps (see Note 67), Napoleon III's Government, from February 1869, intensified repressive measures against the leaders of the French republican and working-class movement trying to paralyse the opposition on the eve of the elections. During the elections, the authorities resorted to open terror: on June 6 and 7 (during the second round of voting), the Paris police made wholesale arrests among the workers; there were police persecutions in other French towns as well—Bordeaux, Nantes, St. Etienne, etc. The Paris police tried to provoke mass actions of unarmed workers. Between June 7 and 11, there were demonstrations of workers, and barricades were erected. The police arrested nearly 1,500 men. On June 16, 1869, a group of Paris members of the International issued a leaflet ("Aux démocrates socialistes") protesting against the unlawful arrests. The leaflet was signed by Camélinat, Varlin and others. p. 112

[140] Reference is to the members of the first and second Paris Committees of the International (see Note 136). p. 112

[141] Reference is to the letter by the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva (see Note 168) dated June 4, 1869 and signed by J. Ph. Becker. p. 112

[142] *Felleisen*—newspaper of the German Workers' Educational Associations in Switzerland published from 1862 to 1874 in Zurich, Geneva and again in Zurich. In August 1868 it declared itself to be an organ of the International. p. 112

[143] Reference is to the Nuremberg Congress of German workers' societies (see Note 9). p. 112

[144] Reference is apparently to the "Address to the National Labour Union of the United States" and the General Council's address to the workmen of Europe and the United States "The Belgian Massacres" (see pp. 101-03 and 312-18 of the present volume). p. 112

145 The letter was from De Paepe to Bernard of June 9, 1869. p. 113

146 The *Working Men's Club and Institute Union*—bourgeois philanthropic educational organisation founded in London in 1863. The Minutes apparently refer to the General Council's invitation to a delegate meeting of the Union's local branches. The meeting was held on June 28, 1869, to discuss the question of evening schools and technical education. The report on this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, July 3, and in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, July 4, 1869. p. 113

147 Reference is to the Second General Congress of the British Trade Unions (see Note 93). p. 113

148 These *Free Communities* split away from the official Protestant Church of Germany in 1846 under the influence of the Friends of the Light movement—a religious trend directed against the pietism then prevailing in the Protestant Church and distinguished by its extreme mysticism and hypocrisy. In 1859 a merger took place between the Free Communities and the German Catholic communities which, like the former, expressed the German bourgeoisie's protest against the reactionary system in Germany by forming a religious opposition within the Catholic Church. p. 114

149 The Basle Congress programme was issued by the General Council as a separate leaflet: "Fourth Annual Congress of the International Workingmen's Association", London, 1869, and published in several English newspapers (see illustration between pp. 344 and 345 of the present volume); it was also published in French in *L'Egalité* No. 24, July 3, 1869. p. 114

150 In connection with the second reading of the Trade Union Bill in the House of Commons (see Note 75), the London Trades Council sent a delegation of nearly 100 people to the Home Secretary Bruce who received them on July 1, 1869. Bruce said that the current session would not be able to consider the Bill in detail and, in effect, expressed the negative attitude of the British Government to the Trade Union Bill. p. 115

151 *L'Egalité* No. 23, June 26, 1869. Details concerning the events at St. Etienne are also to be found in the *Bee-Hive* (July 3, 1869) report of this meeting of the General Council. p. 116

152 The report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive*, July 10, 1869, contained a more detailed account of the letter from Lyons: apart from the bronze-workers, it gave particulars about the strike of 8,000 Lyons women employed in winding silk, and about the reprisals against the St. Etienne miners. p. 117

[153] Jung was apparently informed of all this by Plançon, President of the co-operative society of Brussels marble-workers (Société coopérative et de résistance des marbriers), in a letter of July 2, 1869. Some of its members had joined the International Working Men's Association in their individual capacity. In December 1869 the whole society adhered to the International. The news about it were published in *L'Internationale* No. 50, December 26, 1869. p. 118

[154] This refers to a committee elected by the Brussels Congress to prepare the question on land property. It submitted to the Congress two reports: Aubry's report (Rouen section) and that of De Paepe (Brussels section). The committee was unanimous on the necessity of converting mines, collieries, canals, railways, etc., into common property. There was no unity of opinion on arable land. The committee's majority headed by De Paepe moved a resolution, which was adopted by the Congress, in favour of collective property on the whole land (see pp. 295-96 of the present volume). The minority led by the Proudhonist Tolain, a French delegate, was in favour of peasant small private ownership of land. p. 122

[155] The *Bee-Hive* (July 17, 1869) report of this meeting contains a more detailed account of the letter from Lyons. Announcing the adhesion of the *Ovalistes*—silk winders—to the International Association, the newspaper wrote that it was the first working women's society that had joined. The affiliation of this society was also announced in *L'Egalité* No. 25, July 10, 1869. p. 124

[156] The letter was from Fritzsche, President of the General German Tobacco- and Cigar-Makers' Union (Allgemeines Tabak- und Zigarren Arbeiter Verein), to Marx written on July 11, 1869. Fritzsche asked the General Council for help to the Leipzig cigar-makers on strike. Liebknecht, too, wrote about this to Marx on July 7, 1869. p. 125

[157] When publishing the report of this meeting, July 24, 1869, the editors of *The Bee-Hive* distorted Marx's speech on the right of inheritance. In connection with this Marx wrote to Engels on July 29, 1869: "Now *The Bee-Hive* is under Samuel Morley's control, and from this time all that is too anti-bourgeois in the reports of our meetings is crossed out. This was the case with all my explanations of the Roman testamentary right and the German intestate right made at the last meeting of the General Council." p. 128

[158] Among the documents of the General Council the following receipt by Bernard can be found: "Received from Mr. Marx the sum of 25 thaler for the victims of Seraing and Borinage (Bel-

gium). London, July 22, 1869. Bernard, Secretary for Belgium, twenty-five thaler." Marx wrote on the note: "(This money was sent to me by Bebel in the name of the Leipzig workers. K.M.)." p. 128

159 An inaccuracy in the record of Marx's speech: the demand to abolish the right of inheritance was put forward by Saint-Simon's followers who in the late 1820s set out to popularise and develop Saint-Simon's doctrine. In 1830 a book was published in Paris which, based as it was on Bazard's lectures, expressed the views of the followers of Saint-Simon on the right of inheritance: *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Première année. 1829.* Paris, 1830, pp. 143-69. p. 130

160 Reference is to the Birmingham General Congress of the British Trade Unions (see Note 93). p. 134

161 The *Bee-Hive* (July 31, 1869) report of this meeting stated that Walton had based his demand for land nationalisation on the natural and social right of man to land (see the discussion on this in the General Council on pp. 119-23, 125-27 of the present volume). p. 134

162 In reply to the General Council's demand (see pp. 299-301 of the present volume), Article 2 of the Alliance programme was changed in April 1869 to read as follows: "It is above all working for the complete and final abolition of classes and of political, economic and social equalisation of persons of both sexes." p. 134

163 Reference is to the Basle Congress programme (see p. 114, and illustration between pp. 344 and 345 of the present volume). It was published in leaflet form and in the report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive,* July 31, 1869. Besides, the newspaper report contained information about the strike of the Lyons *Ovalistes* (silk winders) (see Note 152). p. 135

164 *The Bee-Hive,* August 7, 1869, wrote, in the report of this meeting, that the strike of the Lyons women employed in winding silk had been a success and that they had joined the International Association. p. 135

165 For the Administrative Regulations see *The General Council. 1866-1868,* pp. 268-70. p. 136

166 Reference is to a letter from the Romance Federal Council dated July 15, 1869. Concerning this Marx wrote to Engels on August 4: "Yesterday there was a tragicomic meeting of the General Council. Letters demanding money for cards, premises, unpaid salary to the Secretary, etc. In short, international bankruptcy,

so that it is not clear yet how we can send a delegate. *On the other hand* there is a letter from Geneva, from the French section, respectfully asking the General Council to issue a circular in three languages calling on all members (and immediately at that) to collect money to buy a house in Geneva (for meetings) that will cost only £5,000 and will be the property of the International. Is it not a modest claim on the part of these fellows who have not yet paid their 1d. per man?" p. 136

[167] Marx refers to the general congress of the German Social-Democrats held in Eisenach on August 7-9, 1869, at which the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party was founded. Point 6 of the second section of the programme adopted by the Congress read: "Considering that the task of the emancipation of labour is neither local nor national but a social task embracing all countries where modern society exists, the Social-Democratic Workers' Party regards itself, so far as trade union laws allow it, as a section of the International Working Men's Association and shares its aspirations." p. 137

[168] In September 1865, the German section of the International Association in Geneva was declared to be the provisional Central Committee of the German-speaking sections for the whole of Switzerland. From January 1866 the Committee of this section, headed by Becker, served as an organising centre for the German-speaking sections in Germany, France, the U.S.A., Austria and other countries. Its journal, *Der Vorbote*, dealt with the working-class movement and the activities of the International's sections in different countries. On the eve of the Eisenach Congress (see Note 167), Becker worked out a scheme for founding a German workers' party on the basis of trade organisations which were to form a union embracing all German-speaking workers in different countries. This union was to be headed by a Central Committee. This scheme did not conform with the level of the working-class movement in Germany where conditions were ripe for forming a proletarian party on a national scale. Becker's plan was sharply criticised by Engels who wrote to Marx on July 30, 1869: "Old Becker must have gone completely off his rocker. How can he decree that the trades unions *must* be the true workers' association and the basis of any organisation, that the other unions *must* only temporarily exist alongside with them, etc. All this in a country where there are no real trades unions as yet. What 'intricate' organisation! On the one hand, each trade centralises itself in a national summit and, on the other hand, various trades of a locality centralise themselves in a local summit. If one wants to make incessant squabbling permanent, he should use this form of organisation. But in essence it is nothing more than the wish of the old German artisan to save in each town his own 'tavern' which he regards as a basis for the unity of the workers' organisation." p. 137

169 The report on direct people's legislature (the granting of initiative for local organisations and the endorsement of bills by means of universal suffrage) was submitted to the Basle Congress on September 6, 1869, by the Basle delegates. It was included in the Congress agenda conditionally. For lack of time the Congress did not consider this question. p. 137

170 The report of this meeting published in *The Bee-Hive*, August 14, 1869, mentions Marx's speech on the Eisenach Congress made at the previous meeting of the Council (see Note 167): "The Secretary for Germany stated he had received a telegram from the German Labour Congress announcing that the organisation of the Social-Democratic party on the platform of the International Working Men's Association had been carried, also that delegates should be sent to the Congress of Basle." p. 138

171 This was apparently recorded in the Minute Book *post factum*, the communication about the formation of a section in Trieste and its affiliation to the International Association having been made at a meeting held on August 17, 1869. p. 138

172 Reference is to the old members of the Lyons section—Schettel and other Left republicans. p. 139

173 Reference is to Jerusalem's article, "La Dictature universelle", published on August 3, 1869 in *L'International*, the London semi-official organ of the French Government. p. 139

174 General education was discussed at the three previous congresses of the International: Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868). p. 140

175 The *Bee-Hive* (August 21, 1869) report of this meeting mentioned the Belgian Government's attempts to place the workers' trade union organisations under its control by granting awards to the officials, and the workers' struggle against this practice. p. 142

176 Founded by Fanelli, a Bakuninist, the Barcelona section was one of the first International sections in Spain. At the Basle Congress the section was represented by the editor of *La Federacion*, Gaspar Sentiñon. Besides, Farga Pellicer attended the Congress as a delegate from the Central section of Catalonia which was also in Barcelona.

La Federacion—weekly of the Barcelona section, and later of the federation of the International, published in Spanish from August 1869 to 1873. p. 142

177 As a sub-tenant, the General Council rented for its meetings a room at 256, High Holborn from the Sunday League (see Note 2). p. 142

[178] This letter sent to the General Council by Ludwig Neumayer is reproduced by Marx in his letter to Engels dated August 18, 1869: "At the Eisenach Congress it was decided to urge the German workers to join the International Working Men's Association obtaining for the purpose membership cards directly from the centre. Since I was appointed by Joh. Ph. Becker agent of the German-language section of the International Working Men's Association for Wiener-Neustadt and its suburbs, I ask for precise instructions as to my further action. With social-republican greetings, etc. Address: Ludwig Neumayer, editor of the *Wiener-Neustadter Wochenblatt* in *Wiener-Neustadt*, Austria". Commenting on this, Marx stresses: "This is a blow to old Becker and, in particular, to the 'language-group *funds*' (see Note 168.—*Ed.*). But the cause itself must not be spoiled because of personal friendship." p. 142

[179] Eccarius received the news about Sylvis's death in the morning of August 11 and included it in the report of the Council meeting of August 10 (*The Bee-Hive*, August 14, 1869). Marx wrote to Engels on August 18: "Very regrettable is the sudden death of Sylvis (41 years), President of the American Labour Union, just *before* the Labour Union Congress for the preparations of which he had toured the United States for about a whole year propagating it everywhere. Part of his work, therefore, was in vain." The address to the National Labour Union was drawn up by Eccarius and published in *The Bee-Hive*, August 21, 1869 (see p. 325 of the present volume). p. 142

[180] No delegate from the Carpenters' Union attended the Congress. p. 143

[181] In respect of this strike, Marx wrote to Engels on August 18, 1869: "In Poznan, as Zabicki wrote, the *Polish* workers (carpenters, etc.) successfully ended the strike thanks to the help of their Berlin comrades. This struggle against Monsieur le Capital —even in its lowest form, the strike—will put an end to national prejudices quite differently than declarations about peace by Messieurs les bourgeois." p. 143

[182] The University of London was established in 1836 to hold examinations and grant degrees in arts, laws and medicine, but without teaching functions. After 1898 it also became an educational establishment. p. 145

[183] In the *Bee-Hive* (August 21, 1869) report of this Council meeting this part of Marx's speech is given as follows: "As to political economy, religion and other questions, they could not be admitted into the primary, nor even the higher schools, that was a kind of education which must rest with the adult, and must be left to the lecture room, to such schoolmasters as Mrs. Law." p. 147

[184] Here and elsewhere the word "amendment" is used in the sense adopted in British parliamentary procedure. p. 148

[185] At this meeting Marx handed in for the Basle Congress £10 which he had received from Manchester, from Engels and S. Moor, on August 16, 1869. Two receipts for the money received are extant:

"256, High Holborn. Received from Cit. Engels through Cit. Marx the sum of five pounds sterling on behalf of the expenses [for] the Basle Congress. H. Jung, Acting Treasurer, August 24, 1869"; "256, High Holborn. Received from Cit. Moor through Cit. Marx the sum of five pounds sterling on behalf of the expenses [for] the Basle Congress. H. Jung, Acting Treasurer, August 24, 1869." p. 149

[186] In 1865, Weston held different views on this point, considering the workers' struggle for higher wages to be harmful and denying the importance of trade unions and strikes (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 88, etc.). In the course of the discussion of this question in the General Council Marx read a report known as "Value, Price and Profit" where he refuted Weston's erroneous views and showed the importance of the workers' economic struggle (see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, p. 111). p. 150

[187] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive* on September 4, 1869. p. 150

[188] As is evident from Dupont's letter to Marx, of September 1, 1869, the General Council meeting that considered the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association", drawn up by Marx (see pp. 326-42 of the present volume), was held on Wednesday, September 1, 1869. The Minutes of this meeting were not recorded in the Minute Book. p. 151

[189] The text of this resolution was included by Marx in the "Report of the General Council to the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association" (see p. 341 of the present volume). p. 151

[190] This refers to the Parliament elected after the reform of 1867 (see Note 11). p. 152

[191] Marx did not attend this meeting for he had gone to Germany. He received a detailed report of the meeting in a letter from Paul Lafargue (c. September 20, 1869). Lafargue dwelt at length on the speech of Cameron, delegate of the National Labour Union, U.S., to the Basle Congress of the International. p. 156

[192] Questions pertaining to the Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association were considered at

the morning sessions of the Basle Congress on September 7 and 8, at the morning and evening sessions of September 9, and at the evening session of September 10, 1869 (see *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September, 1869.* Published by the General Council. London. 1869, pp. 6, 16, 18, 21, 30). By decision of the London Conference of 1871, these resolutions were officially included by Marx and Engels in the text of "The General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association". p. 157

193 The Geneva Congress of the International was held between September 3 and 8, 1866. The Congress was attended by 60 delegates from the General Council, the different sections of the International Association and workers' societies in Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. Marx drew up "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" that were read at the Congress as the General Council's official report. The Proudhonists counterposed Marx's "Instructions" with a comprehensive programme on all items on the Congress agenda put forward in a special report (*Mémoire*). Of the nine points in Marx's "Instructions", six were adopted as Congress resolutions: on the international combination of efforts, on cooperative labour, on trade unions, on limitation of the working day, on child and female labour and on the standing armies (see pp. 284-92 of the present volume). The Congress adopted Becker's compromising resolution on the Polish question and approved the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. p. 157

194 The resolution necessitating the abolition of private ownership of land and its conversion into common property was adopted by the Basle Congress at its day session on September 10, 1869 (see *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress...*, p. 26). p. 158

195 Draft resolutions on the trade unions was moved by Applegarth, at a day session of the Basle Congress, on September 11, and consisted of the following seven points:

"1. That the present age of competition, by which the employers of labour not only engage in rash speculations and unsound financial schemes to underbid their competitors to obtain contracts, but in many cases have pitted the workmen of one country against another, renders trades' unions for the protection of the workmen an absolute necessity in every country and a federation of trades of every nation an indispensable condition of the age.

"2. That as the interests of labour are identical the world over, this Congress, representing the interests of almost every nation, urges on the trades not in union to at once apply to existing

societies for information and assistance with a view to the formation of trades' unions in every branch of industry, in every country, whether carried on by male or female labour.

"3. That this Congress earnestly urges on the societies of all nations to form themselves into a federation of societies, communicating either by letter or exchanging reports once a month, affording each other every information, such as the rates of wages, working hours, and the general conditions under which in each country the work-people are employed.

"4. That the various sections of the International Association be called upon to assist the formation, and the sections and General Council be requested to assist in furnishing addresses to each other, and in translating communications.

"5. That this Congress urges upon the trades' unions the importance of adopting arbitration for the settlement of trade disputes, and, at the earliest practicable period, the adoption of the principle of co-operative production, and the utilisation of the funds of trades' unions for that purpose.

"6. That if the present system of competition is to be superseded by 'co-operative production', it is clear, by past experience, that trades' unions are the first and most natural form of organisation towards which working men have resorted, and must resort for protection, so long as the present system of competition lasts, and that such organisation is, beyond doubt, the best means of importing that knowledge of order and discipline, and that strict regard for the interests of the whole, which are inseparable conditions to the success of co-operative production.

"7. That the Congress urges on the trades' unions to make a part of their future policy the demand from the state for a national compulsory and unsectarian system of education, which must precede any great social or political reform, and is the only guarantee of rendering such reforms permanent and beneficial."

Applegarth's proposals were not discussed at the Congress; the latter adopted the resolution submitted by the Congress commission on trades' unions (see *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association*, p. 33).

p. 158

196 This refers to the leading article in *The Times*, September 16, 1869, which asserted that the English delegates had voted against the "confiscation of property". In his letter to Marx (see Note 191), Lafargue wrote that Applegarth, at the Council's meeting, had protested against this statement of *The Times* by saying that he could have no respect for himself if he was of different opinion at a time when the peasants lived in such dire conditions. p. 158

197 The report about the beginning of the Basle Congress proceedings and the General Council's report, written by Marx (see pp. 326-42 of the present volume), were sent by Applegarth from

Basle on September 7 and published in *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* on September 10, 1869. p. 159

[198] As is seen from the *Bee-Hive* (September 21, 1869) report of this Council meeting, Eccarius delivered a lecture in Basle on the condition of the English working people. p. 159

[199] In the sixties of the last century, Pennsylvania was a major coal-mining centre in the United States. In 1869, Pennsylvanian miners waged a stubborn struggle with the mine-owners demanding higher wages and recognition of their trade union organisation which by that time numbered 30,000 members and embraced 85 per cent of the miners. Franklin B. Gowen, President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Co., led the negotiations on the employers' side. The struggle was a success: on July 21, 1870, a collective agreement, the first in the history of the United States, was signed between the trade unions and the mine-owners. But the miners did not succeed in establishing minimum wages. p. 161

[200] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, October 2, 1869. p. 162

[201] The Philadelphian Congress of the National Labour Union (see Note 19), held on August 16-23, 1869, elected Cameron and Lucker delegates to the Basle Congress of the International. The letter of the Union's Secretary, read at this Council meeting, was published in full in *The Bee-Hive* on October 2, 1869. p. 162

[202] *The Bee-Hive*, October 2, 1869, also reported that Jessup had written in his letter about the existence of 325 trade union organisations in the state of New York. p. 162

[203] The *Bee-Hive* report (October 2, 1869) of this meeting gives a more detailed description of this letter from Hilden (near Dusseldorf). p. 162

[204] The announcement about the strike of Marseilles basket-makers, whose society had joined the International in the summer of 1869, was published in *L'Internationale* No. 41, October 24, 1869. The newspaper stated that the strikers had received relief from other Marseilles sections and from Lyons. p. 163

[205] The letter was dated September 3, 1869. Cluseret expressed his regret that he could not attend the Basle Congress and asked its delegates to work out a definite programme of action for the workers of all countries and to adopt an address to the American workers calling on them to subscribe to the International. He also opposed the Proudhonist rejection of the political struggle and mistrustful attitude to people of mental labour. Having posted

his letter, Cluseret learned that the Congress would start its proceedings on September 7, not on September 27, as he had supposed. Therefore he wrote another letter, once more emphasising the need to seriously consider the question of the American trade unions adhering to the International. p. 163

206 Reference is to the publication of the *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress...* (see Note 192). p. 163

207 The *Emigration Bureau* was formed by decision of the Fifth Congress of the National Labour Union, U.S.A. (see Note 19), which took place in Cincinnati in August 1870. Sorge, Cameron, McLean, Walls and Mehahn became members of its Standing Committee. The Bureau held that its task was to establish contacts with the trade unions, emigration organisations in Europe, etc., to collect information on labour, wages and commerce, and to publish this information. However, no contacts were established between the Bureau and the General Council. p. 164

208 Reference is to Varlin's letter to Jung of September 29, 1869. In view of the intended publication of the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association, Varlin asked Jung to send to him all the Basle Congress decisions respecting the relations between the sections and federal councils, expulsion of the sections from the International, etc.

The Rules were published on September 19, 1869, in *Le Commerce*, organ of the commercial workers' trade union.

The Bee-Hive, October 9, 1869, gave a detailed account of Varlin's information about a dinner of the co-operative workers where they toasted the International Association. This dinner came to be a step forward in founding the Paris Federal Chamber of workers' societies. p. 165

209 In its report of this meeting *The Bee-Hive*, October 9, 1869, published the text of the resolution which was to be moved, in the name of the General Council, at the forthcoming conference meeting at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, on October 13, 1869. The resolution reads: "That the existence and rapid increase of poverty and pauperism amongst the industrial classes, side by side with the equally rapid increase and development of the scientific appliances of production, is an anomaly that demonstrates the existence of radical and fundamental defects in the arrangements of society which it is the incumbent and imperative duty of all classes of reformers to use their utmost endeavours to discover and remove, and this conference recommends that a vigorous outspoken and manly exposition of the causes of this anomalous state of things, with a view to its eradication, be forthwith set on foot." The resolution was written by Weston. For the meeting at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, see Note 215. p. 166

[210] The *Bee-Hive* report of this meeting (October 16, 1869) gives detailed information about the strike of 2,000 bakers of Vienna, mentions strikes in Prague, Graz, Budapest, U.S.A. (Chinese workers' strike on the St. Raphael railway), Nanking and Peking, about the formation of trade unions in China and about the police persecution in Austria of two workers—Oberwinder and Neumayer, delegates to the Basle Congress. p. 167

[211] This refers to Varlin's letter to Jung dated October 11, 1869. Varlin also wrote that the shoemakers' trade society at its general meeting, held on October 10, declared its affiliation to the International Working Men's Association. p. 167

[212] The strike of 500 Elboeuf wool-spinners began on September 27, 1869, the reason being the employers' refusal to accept the new wage rates submitted by the workers. p. 167

[213] Reference is to the elections to the French Legislative Corps (see Note 67). Emile Aubry was nominated in the course of elections by the Rouen workers. p. 167

[214] The plans of the Marseilles sailors, members of the International Working Men's Association, to found a Union of Free French Sailors (Union des matelots français affranchis) were reported by *L'Internationale* No. 39, October 10, and *L'Egalité* No. 39, October 16, 1869. p. 169

[215] On October 13, 1869, a meeting was held at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, to discuss the question of land property. Lucraft, a delegate to the Basle Congress, was one of the men to speak for the General Council. The meeting adopted a resolution for land to be made collective property. The same question was discussed at a meeting of October 20.

These two meetings came to be a step forward in organising the Land and Labour League (see Note 224).

The reports of the Bell Inn meetings were published in *The Bee-Hive*, October 16 and 23, and in *L'Egalité* No. 41, October 30, 1869. p. 170

[216] Marx, who had stayed in Germany from September 10 to October 11, 1869, was present at this meeting for the first time after the Basle Congress. In its report of the meeting, *The Bee-Hive* (October 23, 1869) published information, evidently based on Marx's statement, about the decision of the International Bookbinders' Union of Leipzig to admit women as members of the Union and about the formation of trade societies in Vienna despite the police. p. 170

[217] On October 6, 1869, the French troops shot down strikers of Aubin demanding higher wages and an eight-hour day. The text

of the protest against this bloody action was published in *L'Egalité* No. 40, October 23, 1869, and its English translation was included in the *Bee-Hive* report (October 30, 1869). p. 171

218 *L'Egalité* No. 40, October 23, 1869, carried excerpts from French bourgeois newspapers (*Figaro, Rappel, Liberté*) which condemned the massacre of the Aubin striking miners. p. 171

219 The report of the Arnhem meeting was published in *L'Internationale* No. 42, October 31, 1869. p. 172

220 From 1865, the General Council on many occasions expressed sympathy with the Irish national liberation movement headed by Fenians, a secret organisation of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. The Fenians voiced the protest of the Irish people against colonial oppression. Their programme demanded national independence for the whole country, establishment of a democratic republic, conversion of peasant tenants into the owners of the land they cultivated, etc. Marx and Engels pointed to the Fenian conspiracy tactics as a serious weakness of the movement. In the autumn of 1867, following the defeat of the Fenian uprising, the General Council conducted, on Marx's proposal, a discussion on the Irish question with a view to elaborating the proletariat's united tactics on the national question and propagating the ideas of proletarian internationalism among the English workers. The discussion opened on November 19; on November 20, 1867, at a special meeting, the General Council adopted a memorial, written by Marx: "The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the International Working Men's Association" (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, pp. 312-13). On November 23, despite protests, the British Government executed the prisoners. On November 26, 1867, the General Council condemned this infamous act.

In the summer and autumn of 1869, Ireland witnessed a new upsurge in the national liberation movement. A wide campaign was started for amnesty for Fenian prisoners. The numerous protest meetings sent petitions to the British Government demanding the release of the Irish revolutionaries. In England the second campaign in defence of the Fenians was initiated and organised by General Council members. In reply to the British Government's refusal to amnesty Fenian prisoners, a protest demonstration of nearly 100,000 workers was held in London on October 24, 1869, to which these Minutes refer. A detailed description of the demonstration is given in the letter of Jenny Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann, dated October 30, 1869. p. 172

321 Such a resolution was not drawn up because, on Marx's proposal, the General Council raised the question on a wider scale and conducted a discussion on the British Government's attitude

towards the Irish prisoners, and adopted a special resolution drafted by Marx (see pp. 176-77, 178-83, etc. of the present volume). p. 173

[222] This refers to the Romance Federation of the International Association. For this communication Jung had made use of the report on the federation signed by Henri Perret, its secretary, and published in *L'Egalité* No. 41, October 30, 1869. p. 175

[223] The *Bee-Hive* (November 6, 1869) report of this meeting dwells at length on the preparations for founding a trade union of women engaged in this branch of jewelry production; it also mentioned the Geneva roofers' strike. p. 175

[224] The *Land and Labour League* was founded in London in October 1869 (see Note 215), its Executive Committee including ten members of the General Council: Odger, Eccarius, Jung, Stepney, Lucraft, Weston and others. Its programme was drawn up by Eccarius who acted on Marx's instructions and contained demands for nationalisation of the land and reduction of working hours, as well as Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation (see pp. 345-51 of the present volume).

Marx held that the League could play a definite role in revolutionising the English working class and regarded it as a means of establishing an independent proletarian party in England. The formation of the League was widely commented on in the International Association's press. The reports were to be found in *L'Egalité* Nos. 38, 41, 42, 43 (October 9 and 30, November 6 and 13, 1869) and No. 1 (January 1, 1870); in *L'Internationale* Nos. 38, 41, 42 (October 3, 24 and 31); in *The Bee-Hive*, October 16, 23 and 30, 1869.

The Land and Labour League, however, soon began to lose contact with the International Association owing to the increased influence of bourgeois elements in its Executive Committee. p. 175

[225] The *New Democracy of New York or Political Commonwealth*— an American reformist organisation founded in 1869. It existed for nearly a year. On October 11, 1869, the New Democracy sent to the General Council a special address sharply criticising the activities of the National Labour Union (see Note 19) and its programme which, the Democracy said, did not conform with the tasks of the American labour movement. The address was published in *The Bee-Hive*, November 20, 1869. For the General Council's reply see pp. 352-53 of the present volume. p. 176

[226] The newly elected French Legislative Corps (see Notes 67 and 139) was supposed to begin its work on October 26, 1869. The French Government, however, deferred its opening until

November 29; Raspail was the only deputy among the opposition to protest against this lawless act (see also p. 169 of the present volume). The Lyons workers' address to Raspail was published in *L'Internationale* No. 43, November 7, 1869. p. 176

227 Reference is to the article "Le Bulletin du Conseil Général" published in *L'Egalité* No. 42, November 6, 1869; it accused the General Council of violating Clauses 2 and 3 of the Regulations. By publishing this article Bakunin and his followers launched an open campaign against the General Council (see pp. 354-63 of the present volume). p. 176

228 This refers to the General Council's decision of October 26, 1869 (see pp. 172-74 of the present volume). In connection with this, Marx wrote to Engels on November 12, 1869: "The last meetings in Ireland were very good; the priests were manhandled and dragged from the platform. Instead of the address on Ireland, for which there was no occasion, I put on the agenda for next Tuesday (to adopt resolutions) the following items: 1) The behaviour of the British Government over the Irish amnesty question. 2) The attitude of the English working class towards the Irish question." p. 176

229 *The Bee-Hive* did not carry any report on this meeting of the General Council. In his letter to Engels, dated November 18, 1869, Marx described the reasons for it as follows: "*The Bee-Hive did not publish* Eccarius's report on the last meeting *at all* on the *pretext* that it had come in too late. The real reason was that the newspaper:

"1) *did not want to declare* that at its next meeting the General Council will open the discussion on the Irish question;

"2) that in the report for the paper (i.e., for Mr. Potter) there was something unpleasant about the Land and Labour League. The point is that Mr. Potter *turned out to be a complete failure* as a candidate for the Committee of this League."

p. 177

230 As Marx wrote to Engels on November 18, 1869, this meeting was also attended by George Jacob Holyoake, leader of the English co-operative movement, who expressed his desire to be on the General Council. The majority of the Council, however, opposed Holyoake's admission, and Engels replied to Marx on November 19, 1869: "The Holyoake affair is unpleasant. The fellow is a real go-between, he shuttles between the radical bourgeois and the workers. The question is: is the composition of the General Council such that we should fear the penetration of such types or not? If you admit Holyoake, other people may appear too, and if this happens, things will immediately take a serious turn. And when times become troublesome, these gentlemen are sure to attend the meetings and try to take the

leadership into their own hands. To my knowledge, Mr. Holyoake has never done anything for the working class *as such*. *A priori* all arguments are against his admission.... I can't imagine a workers' Council with such fellows on it." Later Engels mentioned this unsuccessful attempt by Holyoake to penetrate into the General Council in order to expose Holyoake's allegations against the General Council's appeal *The Civil War in France* drawn up by Marx. p. 177

[231] This refers to De Paepe's letter to Marx, of November 13, 1869, inquiring about the money collected for the Seraing victims (see pp. 312-18 of the present volume). De Paepe also wrote about the growing sympathy with communism among the Belgian workers and their departure from Proudhonism. p. 178

[232] The treaty between England and France was concluded on January 23, 1860. Under this treaty France abandoned her prohibitory customs policy and replaced it by customs that would not exceed thirty per cent of the goods price. France would export most of her goods to England duty-free. The influx of English goods to France sharply increased competition in the home market, which displeased French manufacturers. p. 178

[233] This refers to the article "L'Organisation de l'Internationale" published in *L'Egalité* No. 43, November 13, 1869. In this article, the Bakuninists, while raising the question of founding a Federal Council for England, continued their open attacks on the General Council (see Note 227). p. 178

[234] The information about the beginning of publication of the newspaper *Eguaglianza* by the Naples section was to be found in *L'Egalité* No. 43, November 13, 1869.

L'Eguaglianza—Italian weekly, organ of the Naples section—was published between November 1869 and January 1870; it had a Bakuninist slant. p. 178

[235] Gladstone's Liberal Government succeeded the Tory Government, led by Disraeli, in December 1868. One of the demagogic slogans of the Liberals that brought them victory at the elections was Gladstone's promise to solve the Irish question. At the height of the election struggle, in the House of Commons the opposition criticised Tory policy in Ireland comparing it with the policy of conquest of Britain herself pursued by William, Duke of Normandy, in the eleventh century. p. 179

[236] This refers to the amnesty-for-the-Fenian-prisoners movement (see Note 220) that developed in Ireland in the summer and autumn of 1869. p. 179

[237] Reference is to Gladstone's reply to petitions for amnesty of the Irish prisoners adopted at mass meetings in Ireland, including a many-thousand strong meeting in Limerick held on August 1, 1869. The reply was given in Gladstone's letters to Irish leaders O'Shea and Butt written on October 18 and 23, 1869, respectively (published in *The Times*, October 23 and 27, 1869). p. 180

[238] The *Head Centre*, according to the structure of the Irish Brotherhood, was the name given to the leader of the Fenian organisation. Marx here refers to the *New-York Irish people* which, in one of its articles, pointed out that by his refusal Gladstone was only promoting the Fenian movement. Reference is given according to *The Irishman* No. 20, November 13, 1869.

The Irishman—Irish weekly of a bourgeois-nationalist trend, published from 1858 to 1885, first in Belfast, then in Dublin; it supported the Fenians. p. 180

[239] Reference is to Gladstone's speech of October 7, 1862, in Newcastle, in which Gladstone greeted Davis as President of the Confederate States of America. His speech was published in *The Times*, October 9, 1862. p. 181

[240] *The Times*, October 27, 1869. p. 182

[241] *The Irishman* No. 18, October 30, 1869, reported that, in his letter to the Dublin branch of the Ancient Order of Foresters, Gladstone refused to acknowledge his old, pre-election promises to improve Ireland's position.

The Ancient Order of Foresters—a benefit society founded in England in 1745 as a society of royal foresters. In 1834 it assumed this name; the society took part in the amnesty movement for the Irish prisoners. p. 182

[242] Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, leader of the Irish national liberation movement, while in prison was elected to the House of Commons from Tipperary on November 25, 1869. In this connection, Engels wrote to Marx on November 29, 1869: "The elections in Tipperary are a great event. They make the Fenians abandon their fruitless conspiratorial tactics and staging of minor coups in favour of practical activities which, though seemingly legal, are more revolutionary than all they have done since their unsuccessful insurrection. In fact, they are adopting the tactics of the French workers, and this is an enormous advance if things continue in this direction." p. 183

[243] After this resolution was adopted by the General Council (see pp. 192-94 of the present volume), it was published in the following newspapers: *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 21, 1869; *Volksstaat* No. 17, November 27, 1869; *The National Reformer*,

November 28, 1869; *L'Egalité* No. 47, December 11, 1869; *L'Internationale* No. 48, December 12, 1869, etc. p. 183

[244] Between 1868 and 1870, Odger made three unsuccessful attempts to nominate his candidature for elections to Parliament (in November 1868 from Chelsea, in June 1869 from Stafford, and in February 1870 from Southwark). Each time he failed to poll a sufficient number of votes, not only because of his opponents' advantages, but also because of the conciliatory policy he pursued towards the radical and liberal bourgeoisie. Regarding Odger's last defeat Marx wrote to Engels on February 19, 1870: "The election scandal with Odger is useful in two respects. For the first time the swinish Whigs have realised that they must admit workers to Parliament or else the Tories will get in. Second, it is a good lesson for Mr. Odger and Co. Despite Waterloo (candidate from the Liberal Party—*Ed.*), Odger would have come through, *if a part of the Irish workers had not abstained from voting*, because his conduct during the debates in the General Council was ambiguous, and this they had learned from *Reynolds's*." p. 184

[245] Marx read a letter from the Executive of the Hanover Metal-Workers' Society, dated November 16, 1869, informing the General Council of the strike of the Lüneburg foundrymen. Carl Bomm, Secretary of the Society, asked Marx, in the name of the Executive, to bring to the General Council's notice the strikers' request for aid, and also invited Marx to attend a congress of metal-workers to be held in Brunswick late in November 1869. p. 185

[246] *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 21, 1869. p. 185

[247] Reference is to a demonstration in Hyde Park on October 24, 1869 (see Note 220). p. 185

[248] The *Irish Church Bill*. See Note 25.

The *Land Bill* for Ireland was discussed in the British Parliament in the first half of 1870. Introduced by Gladstone in the name of the British Government, under the pretext of help for the Irish tenants, this Bill contained various reservations and restrictions and, in fact, left the foundations of landed proprietorship of the English landlords in Ireland intact. It preserved their right to put up rent and drive the tenants off the land, justifying the latter act by some compensation to the tenants for melioration work and instituting for this definite judicial proceedings. The Land Act was passed in August 1870. The landlords did all they could to sabotage the implementation of the act and under various pretexts violated it. The Land Act considerably made for the concentration of big farms in Ireland and the ruination of the small Irish tenants. p. 185

[249] This refers to the fight between Irishmen and Englishmen at a Hyde Park meeting on September 28, 1862, convened by the London workers in honour of Garibaldi and to express their protest against the occupation of Rome by the French troops. p. 187

[250] The pamphlet is entitled *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Persecutions of the Neapolitan Government.* London, 1851. p. 187

[251] For the commercial treaty of 1860 see Note 232. p. 187

[252] Reference is to the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864 which ended in declaring Schleswig and Holstein a common possession of these two states; in 1866 both provinces were annexed to Prussia. p. 187

[253] Jung alludes to the explosion of a powder keg in Clerkenwell prison, London, caused in December 1867 by a group of Fenian supporters to liberate Fenian prisoners (see Note 220). p. 189

[254] *Political Register*—an abridged name of the bourgeois-radical weekly, *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register,* published in London from 1802 to 1835. p. 189

[255] Marx refers to the suppression of the Irish national insurrection of 1798 by the British Government with brutal severity; as a result, Ireland had lost the last vestiges of her independence; made effective as of 1801, the Union Act dissolved the Irish Parliament. Marx compares the terrorism of the British with repressions resorted to during the suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1849. p. 190

[256] Reference is to Ledru-Rollin's book *The Decline of England,* London, 1850. p. 190

[257] In the Minutes of this meeting published in *Reynolds's Newspaper,* November 28, 1869, the concluding sentence of Marx's speech is given as follows: "The question was which was most important—to conciliate the Irish, or make this resolution acceptable to Mr. Gladstone." p. 190

[258] Concerning the discussion in the General Council on November 23, Marx wrote to Engels on November 26, 1869: "Last Tuesday's sitting was full of fiery, heated, vehement speech. Mr. Muddlehead or the devil knows what that fellow's name was—a Chartist and an old friend of Harney's—had providently brought Odger and Applegarth along. On the other hand Weston and Lucraft were absent because they were attending an Irish ball. Reynolds had published my resolutions in his Saturday issue and

also an abstract of my speech (as well as Eccarius could do that; he's no stenographer), and Reynolds had printed it right on the front page of the paper, after his leading article. This seems to have scared those flirting with Gladstone. Hence the appearance of Odger and a long rambling speech by Muddershead, who got it in the neck badly from Milner (himself an Irishman). Applegarth sat next to me and therefore did not dare to speak *against* them; on the contrary, he spoke *for* them, evidently with an uneasy conscience. *Odger* said that if the resolutions were rushed to a vote he would have to say aye. But unanimity was surely better and could be attained by means of a few minor amendments, etc. I thereupon declared—as it was precisely *he* that I wanted to get into a mess—that *he* should submit his amendments at the next session. At the last session, although many of our most reliable members were absent, we would thus have carried the resolution against *one single* opposing vote. Tuesday we shall be there in full force." p. 190

[259] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive*, December 4, 1869. p. 191

[260] This was reported in *L'Internationale* No. 50, December 26, 1869. p. 191

[261] Though *The Bee-Hive* was officially regarded as the press organ of the General Council (see Note 3), it was more and more influenced by the liberals. This tendency particularly increased when the newspaper passed, in 1869, into the hands of liberal bourgeois Samuel Morley. As to the International Association, *The Bee-Hive* adopted an ambiguous stand; it deterred the publication of its documents, falsifying them in a reformist spirit, and dealt arbitrarily with the reports of the General Council meetings. In the autumn of 1869, the newspaper played a particularly vile role in regard to the Irish national liberation movement by refusing to publish the General Council's resolution in defence of the Fenians; in fact, it supported the policy of Gladstone's Government. In this connection, Engels wrote to Marx on November 1, 1869: "It is good luck that *The Bee-Hive* now demonstrates its bourgeois colour so freely and stupidly. I have never seen yet such a vile issue as yesterday's. This fawning upon Gladstone and the entire bourgeois-protectionist-philanthropic tone must soon completely spoil it and urge a need for a genuinely workers' paper. It is very good that at a time when the workers are sobering up from their liberal intoxication their only paper is more and more becoming bourgeois." Concerning the General Council's break with *The Bee-Hive* see p. 228 of the present volume. p. 192

[262] Concerning the execution of the Fenians in Manchester see Note 220. p. 193

263 Summing up the discussion and voting of the resolution on the Irish question, Marx wrote to Engels on December 4, 1869: "With the exception of Mottershead, who was like John Bull, and Odger, who as always played the role of diplomat, the English delegates behaved themselves excellently." p. 194

264 This edition of the General Council's resolutions has not been found. For their publication in the press see Note 243. p. 194

265 Marx intended to open discussion on the second question—"The attitude of the English working class to the Irish" (see p. 177 of the present volume), but illness prevented him from attending this meeting. Later he expressed his view on the stand the proletariat should take on the Irish national liberation movement in the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see pp. 354-63 of the present volume). p. 194

266 On December 17, 1869, Marx wrote to Engels: "Our Irish resolution was sent out to all trades unions in alliance with us. Only one of them—a small branch of the curriers—protested against it as being political and beyond the Council's competence. To explain things we are sending a deputation to them." p. 195

267 Reference is to the editorial in *L'Egalité* No. 47, December 11, 1869, in which the pro-Bakunin editors continued their attacks on the General Council (see Notes 227 and 233). Similar articles were published in *Le Progrès*.

The *Egalité* and *Progrès* attacks, for the first time thoroughly discussed at this Council meeting, were treated in detail by Marx in the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see pp. 354-63 of the present volume), adopted by the Council at a special meeting on January 1, 1870. p. 195

268 Reference is to Liebknecht's statement, made on February 18 and published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 8, February 20, 1869, in which Liebknecht had offered to make the General Council an arbitrator in the conflict between Schweitzer and the General Association of German Workers he headed, on the one hand, and Bebel, Liebknecht and the workers' unions they led, on the other. Schweitzer's refusal to recognise the General Council as arbitrator was published in *Der Social-Demokrat* No. 24, February 24, 1869. p. 195

269 Eccarius mentions publication by the General Council of a bulletin on the working-class movement; this decision was adopted by the Geneva Congress in 1866 and included in the Administrative Regulations (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 269). At the

Basle Congress this question was discussed but no decision taken. For details see pp. 355-56 of the present volume. p. 196

[270] Marx's views on the significance of the Irish question for the future of the world working-class movement are expressed in the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see pp. 357-59 of the present volume), and in his letters: to Kugelmann, dated November 29; to Engels, December 10, 1869; to Paul and Laura Lafargue, March 5, and to Meyer and Vogt, April 9, 1870. p. 196

[271] What is meant here is the New Democracy's letter written in reply to the Address of the General Council (see pp. 352-53 of the present volume). The letter was published in *The Bee-Hive*, January 8, 1870. p. 197

[272] The strike of 8,000 miners of Waldenburg (Silesia) began on December 1, 1869, over the employers' ban on the workers joining trade union organisations. The letter, read at this Council meeting, was written by Bracke on December 28, 1869, and addressed to Eccarius. In the name of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party Bracke asked Marx and all General Council members to render all possible assistance to the striking miners and to send him several thousand membership cards of the International. p. 198

[273] The specimen issue of *Die Tagwacht* appeared in Zurich (December 11, 1869) with an article containing the programme of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland, mentioned in the Minutes. A Bakuninist criticism of this programme was given in *Le Progrès* No. 28, December 25, 1869, and in *L'Egalité* No. 1, January 1, 1870.

Die Tagwacht appeared until 1880; between 1869 and 1873 it was the organ of the German-speaking sections of the International in Switzerland. p. 198

[274] For the reform movement in England see Note 11. p. 199

[275] To fulfil this decision, Marx drew up and sent to Belgium an obituary on Shaw, which was published in *L'Internationale* No. 53, January 16, 1870 (see pp. 364-65 of the present volume). p. 200

[276] The letter was from Siegfried Meyer, Corresponding Secretary of the General German Working Men's Association (Labour Union No. 5 of New York), to Cowell Stepney dated December 28, 1869.

The *General German Working Men's Association* was founded by German immigrants in New York in 1865; at first it was strongly influenced by the Lassalleans. In January 1869, it was

reorganised and joined the National Labour Union (see Note 19) as the Labour Union No. 5 of New York. On December 12, 1869, the Association decided to affiliate to the International, which was stated in Meyer's letter to Stepney. p. 201

277 Reference is to collection of money to support Odger's candidature in the elections to the British Parliament (see Note 244). The letter from Marseilles was dwelt with at length in the *Bee-Hive* (January 15, 1870) report of this Council meeting. p. 201

278 Reference is to the letter of the Romance Federal Council in Geneva to Jung, dated January 4, 1870, in which the Council expressed its disagreement with the attacks made by *L'Egalité* on the General Council (see Notes 227, 233 and 267). The Federal Council also stated that the Alliance of Socialist Democracy had not been admitted into the Romance Federation and that the aims of that organisation had nothing in common with the tasks of the International Working Men's Association. The resignation of Bakuninists from the Editorial Committee of *L'Egalité* was reported by Henri Perret in his personal letter to Jung of January 4, 1869. Both letters were sent from Geneva in reply to Jung's letter of November 1869, before the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see pp. 354-63 of the present volume) was received. p. 201

279 This refers to the note-paper with the stamp: "General Council of the International Working Men's Association. 256, High Holborn, London, W.C.", which was used by the Council for its official correspondence. p. 201

280 Gregory's letter was included in the report of this Council meeting published in *The Bee-Hive* on January 22, 1870. p. 202

281 Reference is to Goegg's letter to Cowell Stepney of January 4, 1870. Goegg informed the Council that they had sent contributions through Becker and suggested that the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party be an intermediary between the German sections and the General Council instead of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections headed by Becker (see Note 168). p. 202

282 *L'Egalité* No. 3, January 15, 1870. p. 202

283 Weston refers to the speech by John Bright, Minister of Commerce, delivered at a meeting of the electors in Birmingham on January 11, 1870, and published in *The Times*, January 12, and in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 16, 1870. p. 203

[284] The *Manchester school*—a trend among English economists that expressed the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, advocated Free Trade and non-interference by the state. Their centre was in Manchester where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers—Cobden and Bright. In the early 1860s the Free Traders belonged to the Liberal Party. p. 204

[285] *The Bee-Hive*, January 29, 1870, included in its report of this meeting the announcements (not recorded in the Minute Book) of the defeat of the strike of the Paris surgical instrument-makers and of the continuation of the Waldenburg miners' strike. p. 204

[286] The letter referred to was from the Executive of the Hanover branch of the International Metal Workers' Society to Marx written on January 12, 1870. p. 205

[287] The official announcement about this was to be found in Hins's letter to Cowell Stepney dated January 21, 1870. p. 205

[288] In January 1870, following the assassination by Prince Pierre Bonaparte of Victor Noir, a republican journalist who contributed to the newspaper *Marseillaise* (published in Paris from January 1870 with the active participation of International Association members), Paris became the scene of increased anti-Bonapartist movement and mass affiliation of workers to the International. The news about the formation of a section by Combault was carried in *La Marseillaise* on January 15, 1870. p. 205

[289] "Quatrième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Bâle du 6 au 11 septembre 1869. Locale du Café National. Rapport du délégué des Sections de la Fabrique de Genève" [Genève, 1869]. p. 206

[290] Before the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see pp. 354-63 of the present volume) was received, the Romance Federal Council managed to change the composition of the *Egalité* editorial board, and after the Bakuninists had withdrawn from it (see Note 278), the newspaper began to support the General Council's line. The resignation of seven members from the *Egalité* editorial board was reported in *L'Egalité* on January 8, 1860. On January 15, the newspaper announced the withdrawal of the chief editors. p. 206

[291] This refers to a letter from Vandenhouten, Secretary of the Belgian Federal Council of the International for Correspondence with Foreign Countries, to Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium. Vandenhouten wrote that the Federal Council fully approved of the General Council's position in the conflict with *L'Egalité* (see Note 278). p. 206

[292] Reference is to the American Civil War (1861-65). p. 208

[293] The report of this meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive* on February 12, 1870. p. 209

[294] Reference is to the inaugural congress of the Romance Federation (see Note 66). p. 209

[295] Reference is to a conflict between members of the old Lyons section (Schettel and others), siding with the French Left republicans, and the group of Bakuninist Richard. The Sub-Committee held its meeting on February 19, 1870. Marx wrote to Engels: "This evening ... I must again go to the town. I have been summoned to the Sub-Committee. And the question is indeed a very important one, for the Lyonese have expelled Richard from their society, but it is the General Council that must make a final decision. Richard, leader in Lyons up till now and quite a young man, is very active. Besides his adherence to Bakunin and the philosophising connected with it, I don't know what he can be reproached with. Our last circular letter seems to have made a great sensation, and in Switzerland, like in France, they began to drive out the Bakuninists. But *est modus in rebus*, and I'll see that no injustice occurs."

Concerning the General Council's decision see pp. 215-16 of the present volume. p. 211

[296] This refers to the events provoked by the Paris police on February 8, 1870, by arresting the editor-in-chief of *La Marseillaise* Rochefort for an article written in connection with the assassination of Noir (see Note 288). Barricades were erected in a number of districts; the police smashed them with the help of the troops and made wholesale arrests. The protest against Rochefort's arrest, signed by the editors of *La Marseillaise* and members of the Paris sections, was published in *La Marseillaise* No. 53, February 9, 1870. p. 211

[297] Ludwig Neumayer, an Austrian Social-Democrat and member of the International, published from January 12, 1870, in Wiener-Neustadt, the newspaper *Die Gleichheit*, the second issue of which carried the "Manifesto to the Agricultural Population" (see also *Der Vorbote*, December 1869), drawn up by Becker. This served as a pretext for bringing the editor to trial. On February 12 Neumayer wrote to Marx: "They apparently want to exaggerate this case ... in order to deal later on a powerful blow at the International Working Men's Association." In his letter, read at this Council meeting, Neumayer also asked for *Die Gleichheit* to be regarded as an organ of the International Association. The trial took place on March 28, 1870, and Neumayer used it to propagate the ideas of the International. He was acquitted. p. 212

[298] This section, founded in the autumn of 1869 and headed by L. Frankel, was in contact with the General Council and the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva (see Note 168). p. 214

[299] Varlin was arrested on February 13, 1870, charged with endangering state security. p. 214

[300] The protest was signed on February 17 by members of the German section in Paris—Frankel, Petersen and others—and was published in *L'Egalité* No. 9, February 26, 1870. p. 214

[301] In connection with Marx's illness the Sub-Committee held its meeting at Marx's flat on March 5, Saturday, at 8 o'clock in the evening. p. 214

[302] Reference is to Hume's letter to Eccarius, of February 20, 1870. p. 215

[303] This decision, signed by Dupont, Corresponding Secretary for France, was published in *L'Internationale* No. 63, March 27, 1870. p. 216

[304] Marx was present at this meeting for the first time after a long interval caused by illness. Concerning the discussion on the admission of the positivist workers Marx wrote to Engels on March 19: "Last Tuesday I, for the first time, again attended the General Council's meeting.... The *'prolétaires positivistes'* in Paris, as is known, have sent a delegate to the Basle Congress. Disputes arose as to whether he should be admitted since he represents a philosophical society, not a workers' organisation (although he and all his company belong 'personally' to the working class). Finally he was admitted as a delegate from individual members of the *International*. These fellows now have constituted themselves in Paris as a branch of the *International*—an event about which the London and Paris Comtists have made a big noise. They believed that they had managed to drive a thin wedge. In reply to the application of the 'prolétaires positivistes' for affiliation the General Council reminded them, in the most polite manner, that the Council could only affirm their affiliation after having acquainted itself with their programme. Therefore, they have sent in their programme—the most orthodox Comtist one—which was discussed last Tuesday. The meeting was chaired by Muddershead [Mottershead], a very intelligent (although anti-Irish) old Chartist and personal enemy of and expert on Comtism. After a long debate it was decided: inasmuch as they are workers, they can be admitted simply as a section, but not as a 'Branche *positiviste*', because the principles of Comtism are at variance with the principles of our Rules. Incidentally, it is up to them to decide how they are going to bring their

private philosophical views into line with the principles of our Rules." p. 217

305 On March 13, 1870, the leaders of the sections in Paris, Marseilles, Rouen, Dijon and other French towns met in Lyons to discuss the following two questions: the attitude of the proletariat towards political struggle, and towards the co-operative movement. This meeting was in fact a congress of the French sections of the International Association. Some participants, influenced as they were by the Bakuninists, were inclined against the French workers' taking part in the political struggle. Varlin, however, energetically advocated their participation in politics. An account of the congress was published in *Le Progrès* No. 13, March 26, and in *L'Egalité* No. 14, April 2, 1870. p. 218

306 With a view to uniting the French sections and founding a Paris Federation, a general delegate meeting was convened, on Varlin's initiative, on March 7, 1870, which set up a commission for drafting the Federation's rules. The draft rules were published, in lithographic form, in Paris on March 18 under the title: "Projet de Fédération entre les Sections parisiennes de l'Internationale". Concerning the foundation of this Federation see Note 326. p. 218

307 Karl Marx was the Corresponding Secretary for the German-speaking sections in the U.S.A. p. 219

308 Reference is to Johann Ph. Becker's letter to Jung, of March 12, 1870. p. 219

309 The *Russian section* of the First International was founded in Geneva in the spring of 1870 by a group of Russian political emigrants from among young people brought up on the ideas of the great Russian revolutionary democrats Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov. On March 12, 1870, the committee of this section sent to the General Council its programme and rules which were also published in the section's newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo* (*People's Cause*) No. 1, April 15, 1870. The committee addressed Marx asking him to be their representative on the General Council. An official reply, in the name of the General Council (see pp. 366-67 of the present volume), was written by Marx on March 24 and published in *Narodnoye Dyelo* on April 15, 1870.

The Russian section was of great help to Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninist splitting activities. Its members—N. Utin, A. Trusov, Y. Barteneva, G. Bartenev, Y. Dmitrieva, A. Korvin-Krukovskaya—took an active part in the Swiss and international working-class movement. Some of them participated in the Paris Commune. The section sought to establish contacts with the revolutionary movement in Russia. p. 219

310 See Note 305. p. 220

311 This request was contained in Sorge's letter to Eccarius written early in March 1870. p. 221

312 On April 4, 1870, Eccarius wrote to Marx: "Dear Marx! First and foremost I have to announce that upon the proposition of Citizen Lucraft the Council expressed their sympathy and regret at your continued illness." p. 222

313 See Note 297. p. 222

314 After the *Egalité* editorial board was reorganised (see Notes 278 and 290), the Bakuninists, attempting to retain their lost positions, had secured a formal majority of votes at a regular congress of the Romance Federation held in La Chaux-de-Fonds on April 4-6, 1870. The congress discussed the attitude of the working class towards the political struggle. In contrast to the Geneva sections, the Bakuninists preached abstention from the political struggle referring to the French text of the Rules (see p. 361 of the present volume). On Bakunin's insistence, the congress began its proceedings with the admission of the newly formed sections to the federation. A sharp struggle arose over the admission of the section named "Alliance of Socialist Democracy—Central Section" (see Note 79), and the Chaux-de-Fonds pro-Bakunin section. Utin, one of the leaders of the Russian section in Geneva, exposed Bakunin's schismatic activities. A split occurred; the Geneva delegates and other General Council supporters continued their work independently. The announcement about the Chaux-de-Fonds split was published in *L'Egalité* on April 9, 1870.

The Bakuninists elected a new Federal Committee and transferred its seat to La Chaux-de-Fonds. Thus two federal committees appeared in Romance Switzerland—in Geneva and in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The Bakuninists started publication of the newspaper *La Solidarité* that appeared under the editorship of James Guillaume, first in Neuchâtel (April 11, 1870-May 12, 1871), and then in Geneva. In fact it was the continuation of *Le Progrès*. Early in April 1870 representatives of the Romance Federal Council and supporters of the Alliance sent to the General Council detailed reports of the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress and asked it to pass a decision concerning the split. At this meeting of the General Council, Jung read a letter of the Romance Federal Council dated April 7, 1870. For the General Council's decision see p. 368 of the present volume. p. 224

315 Reference is apparently to a letter from von Roesgen von Floss, publisher of *Het Volk*, to Marx. In this connection, on March 24, 1870, Marx addressed Coenen, a member of the International in Antwerp, with the following letter: "Citizen! Yesterday I received a specimen copy of *Het Volk*, printed in Rotterdam, and *a letter* from its publisher, Phillipp von Roesgen von Floss, asking me,

among other things, to send him a membership card of the *International*. I know neither Mr. Ph. von R[oesgen] von F[loss] nor the state of our affairs in Rotterdam. I suppose that you are better informed and ask your favour in answering the following two questions: 1) What is the position of the *International* in Rotterdam? 2) Should the General Council establish contact with Phillipp von Roesgen von Floss? Greetings and brotherhood. Karl Marx." p. 224

316 Sending, on April 18 (together with a letter to Lafargue), credentials to Henri Verlet, Marx warned the French socialists of the danger of sectarianism:

"I send enclosed credentials for M. H. Verlet. Let him give to the new section he is about to establish no *sectarian 'name'*, either Communistic or other. Il faut éviter les *'etiquettes'* sectaires dans l'Association Internationale [We in the International Association should avoid sectarian 'labels']. The general aspirations and tendencies of the working class emanate from the real conditions in which it finds itself placed. They are therefore common to the whole class although the movement reflects itself in their heads in the most diversified forms, more or less fantastical, more or less adequate. Those who interpret best the hidden sense of the class struggle going on before our eyes—the Communists are the last to commit the blunder of affecting or fostering sectarianism." p. 224

317 Reference is to the second strike of the Creusot miners that lasted from March 21 to April 15, 1870. To put down the strike the police made wholesale arrests, and on April 7 there began a trial of 25 miners who received up to three years' imprisonment. The workers were defeated; many strikers were dismissed.

The decision adopted at this Council meeting to issue an address was not fulfilled. Mass police persecutions in France at the close of April compelled the General Council to change its plans and to issue, instead of this address, a leaflet written by Marx on the persecution of members of the French sections (see pp. 231-32 of the present volume and Note 334). p. 224

318 In fulfilment of this decision, Jung forwarded to Marx, on April 13, a questionnaire of the Amalgamated Engineers:

"1) The number of hours of work per day?
"2) How many days a week and whether on Sunday?
"3) The amount of wages?
"4) What price is paid for overtime?
"5) The number of members?
"6) How much contribution per week?
"7) Whether any other advantages, besides the protection of wages, are derived from the society, such as: sick relief,

superannuation, accident relief and burial money and how much of each?

"8) State of trade, etc.

"9) What trades belong to the society?" p. 225

319 This proposition was expounded by Eccarius in a letter written in behalf of the General Council (see pp. 243-45 of the present volume). p. 226

320 Reference is to the Bakuninist Federal Committee in La Chaux-de-Fonds formed as a result of the split of the Romance Federation in Switzerland (see Note 314). Jung referred to letters from the Romance Federal Committee and the Chaux-de-Fonds Committee written on the same day. On April 19, after the Council meeting, Marx forwarded these letters to Engels to have his advice as to the position the General Council should adopt in connection with the split. In his reply Engels characterised the Alliance activities in general: "In essence it is clear that, even if the Alliance is tolerated by the General Council, it should have no place within such a local organisation as the Romance Switzerland, because it wants to correspond with all countries and have its sub-sections there. Therefore it has either to withdraw from it or give up its international character." p. 226

321 Reference is to the Brussels Congress resolution instructing the Belgian section to pass a decision on Vésinier's case (see Note 34.) p. 226

322 Accused of conspiracy against Napoleon III, the French revolutionary Gustave Flourens fled from France (see Note 332). Marx wrote about him to Engels on April 28, 1870: "Flourens has already visited our home several times. He is a very fine fellow. His distinguishing feature is audacity. But he has substantial education in the natural sciences. In one year he read a course of lectures on ethnography at the University of Paris; he has been everywhere—Southern Europe, Turkey, Asia Minor, etc. He is full of illusion and revolutionary intolerance, but a very jolly fellow for all that, does not belong to the school of 'serious' men. He was nominated to our Council whose meetings he attended twice as a guest. It would be very good if he stays here as long as possible. It is worth while working on him. But if Bonaparte gives amnesty after the plebiscite (see Note 327—Ed.), he will return to Paris." p. 226

323 The first joint congress of the Dutch and the Flemish sections of the International was held in Antwerp in the spring of 1870. Representatives of several trade unions from Belgium and the Netherlands took part in the congress. It testified to the growing

working-class movement in these countries and the increased influence of the International Association. p. 227

324 Reference is to Guillaume's letter to Jung written on April 21, 1870, in connection with the split at La Chaux-de-Fonds (see Notes 314 and 320). p. 227

325 Petersen, a member of the German section in Paris (see Note 298), was empowered, on April 5, 1870, by the General Council to form a section in Denmark in view of his visit to Copenhagen. At this Council meeting, Petersen's letter of April 22, 1870, was read. p. 227

326 As a result of the work of the commission set up to prepare the founding of a Paris Federation (see Note 306), on April 18, 1870, a general meeting of the Paris sections presided over by Varlin declared its formation. The meeting attended by nearly 1,300 people adopted the rules of the federation, which were soon published as a separate pamphlet. Paul Lafargue took part in founding the federation. It was with his help that the federation published, in the latter part of April 1870, a correct translation in French of the Rules of the International Working Men's Association until then widespread in a form distorted in a Proudhonist spirit (see p. 361 of the present volume and Note 306). Dupont's report was based on letters by Laura and Paul Lafargue to Marx dated April 18 and 19, 1870. Paul Lafargue asked Marx to raise in the General Council the question of empowering him as the Council's representative on the Paris Federation. For the granting of powers to Lafargue see p. 240 of the present volume. p. 228

327 In an attempt to strengthen its weakened position, Napoleon III's government began, in April 1870, its preparations for a plebiscite. On April 20, it published the text of a new constitution which was a compromise between the authoritarian and the parliamentary system. Further, by a decree of April 23, the French people were asked to answer the following question: "Whether they approve of the liberal reforms introduced by the Emperor, with the help of the high state organs, since 1860, and whether they ratify the *senatus-consult* of April 20, 1870?" The question was formulated in such a way that it was impossible to express disapproval of the Empire's policy without at the same time opposing all democratic reforms.

The Bonapartist manoeuvre was exposed by the Paris Federation in the leaflet *Manifeste antiplébiscitaire des Sections parisiennes fédérées de l'Internationale et de la Chambre fédérale des Sociétés ouvrières*, issued in Paris on April 24, 1870.

For the results of the plebiscite see Note 342. p. 228

[328] See Notes 3 and 261. p. 228

[329] The *Coercion Bill*, introduced by Gladstone in the House of Commons on March 17, 1870, envisaged suspension of constitutional guarantees in Ireland, declaration of a state of siege, and the granting to the British authorities of extraordinary powers to suppress the Irish national liberation movement. p. 228

[330] For the Labour Representation League see Note 138. p. 229

[331] The report of this meeting was published on May 7, 1870, in *The Bee-Hive* and in the paper of the East End workers, *The Eastern Post*. p. 230

[332] At the end of April 1870, in connection with the preparations for the plebiscite in France (see Note 327), there were wholesale arrests of socialists charged with affiliation to the International Working Men's Association and with "complicity" in the plot against Napoleon III (the Blois case), framed by Pietri, prefect of police. On May 5, 1870, the *Journal officiel* published an indictment by Grandperret, General Prosecutor of the Second Empire, charging a number of people, including Flourens then living in London (see Note 322), with participation in this plot. The same day the newspaper *Gaulois* reported that Flourens was supposedly being persecuted by the English police and had to live in hiding. For more details see Marx's letter to Engels of May 7, 1870. p. 231

[333] The first trial of the Paris Committee took place in March 1868; the second, on May 22-June 19, 1868. p. 232

[334] The English text of the address was published on May 4 as a separate leaflet—*Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*—and in the newspapers *The Daily Telegraph*, May 4, and *The Eastern Post*, May 7; the French translation was made by Marx and published in *La Marseillaise*, May 7, *La Liberté*, May 8, *L'Egalité*, May 14, etc.; in German it was published in *Der Volksstaat*, May 11, and in *Der Vorbote* No. 5, May 1870. p. 232

[335] In connection with the arrests in France the General Council adopted at this meeting a decision, not recorded in the Minute Book, to grant Jaclard the following powers: "International Working Men's Association. Central Council. London. General Council of the International Working Men's Association. 256, High Holborn, London, W.C. London, May 3, 1870. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association grants Citizen *Jaclard* corresponding powers to organise sections of the

International, to admit into the International Workers' societies, as well as to receive membership dues and to popularise the principles of the International Working Men's Association, wherever he finds it necessary, in accordance with the Statutes and Regulations of the Association. In the name and by order of the General Council in London, Eugène Dupont, Corresponding Secretary for France." p. 233

336 See Note 7. p. 234

337 Marx refers, in particular, to a report about the banquet given by the so-called French branch (see Note 29) in London on May 3, 1870, in honour of Flourens. The report was forwarded to France, Germany and other countries by the Havas and Reuters agencies and was published in the *Journal des Débats* on May 5. It stated that the banquet was chaired by "M. Le Lubez, President of the International Association", whereas Le Lubez had been expelled from the International for slander as far back as 1866. p. 236

338 In English the resolution was published in *The Penny Bee-Hive* No. 418, May 14, 1870.

The French text was published in *La Marseillaise* No. 145, May 14, 1870, *L'Internationale* No. 70, May 15, 1870, *L'Egalité* No. 21, May 21, 1870. In German the resolution was printed in *Der Volksstaat* No. 41, May 21, 1870. p. 236

339 On May 9, 1870, the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party sent a letter to the General Council officially proposing that the next congress of the International be held in Germany. It was apparently this letter that Marx read at the meeting. p. 238

340 This resolution, moved by Marx, was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 42, May 25, 1870; in *Der Vorbote* No. 6, June 1870; *L'Egalité* No. 22, May 28, 1870, and in *Le Mirabeau* No. 45, May 29, 1870. p. 238

341 This refers to the forthcoming congress of the Spanish Federation; it was held in June 1870 in Barcelona (see Note 356). p. 239

342 As a result of the plebiscite (see Note 327) held on May 8, 1870, nearly 3,500,000 citizens actually expressed their opposition to the Empire (1,894,681 abstained and 1,577,939 voted against). Most of the votes against the Empire were those of the French soldiers; in Paris alone 46,000 soldiers expressed disapproval of the Empire's policy. Speaking of the results of the plebiscite, Engels wrote to Marx on May 11, 1870: "The results in the big cities in France are very good. The rest are falsified and are not to be counted. As for the republicans' call on the army

to vote 'against', it would have had sense only if there had been direct actions in store, which was absolutely *not* the case. This, however, will lead to the soldiers having to pay and 'reliable' regiments will be sent to Paris." p. 239

[343] In 1869, Samuel Morley (see Notes 3 and 261), a liberal bourgeois, bought *The Bee-Hive* and became its publisher. p. 240

[344] The text of the resolution was published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 38, May 11, and in *Der Vorbote* No. 5, May 1870. p. 240

[345] This was Sorge's letter to Marx of May 13, 1870. p. 241

[346] See Note 332. p. 242

[347] Reference is to Louis Bonaparte's landing at Boulogne with a view to effecting a coup d'état on August 6, 1840. This text also contains hints at justifying Pierre Bonaparte who had killed Noir (see Note 288). p. 242

[348] This letter was written by Eccarius following discussion in the General Council, on April 19, 1870, of Hume's proposal to appoint special representatives for various nationalities in different countries. A clipping from an American newspaper containing Eccarius's letter is pasted into the Minute Book. The title of the paper is unknown. p. 243

[349] See Note 356. p. 249

[350] Despite numerous arrests and police persecutions (see Note 332), the prestige and popularity of the International Association in France continued to increase. On May 18, 1870, Marx wrote to Engels: "Our members in France are giving the French Government ocular proof of the difference between a secret political society and a genuine workers' association. No sooner had the government jailed all the members of the Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Marseilles, etc., Committees (some of them fled to Belgium and Switzerland) than Committees *twice as numerous* announced themselves as their successors with the most daring and challenging declarations in the newspapers (and as an additional precaution added their *private addresses* as well). At last the French Government has done what we have so long wanted it to do: transform the political question, Empire or Republic, into a question of life and death for the working class!"

On June 11, the first issue of the Paris Federation's newspaper *Le Socialiste* appeared in Neuchâtel; on June 18, the second issue came out. Both were confiscated by the French police when an attempt was made to forward them to France. p. 251

351 Reference is to the strike of 3,000 building workers of Geneva in March-April 1868 in which workers of other trades took part. The Geneva workers were victorious thanks to support from the workers of Switzerland, England, France and Germany. p. 252

352 The protest was published in *L'Egalité* No. 23 ("Protestation votée en Assemblée populaire nationale tenue au Bâtiment Electoral 7 juin, 1870"). On June 14 the editors published a special supplement to issue No. 23 dealing with the Geneva building workers' strike. p. 252

353 The meeting was held on June 12, 1870; concerning the congress of the Spanish sections of the International see Note 356. p. 252

354 Reference is to a letter from the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany to the General Council dated June 12, 1870. p. 255

355 Reference is to the forthcoming congress of the National Labour Union (see Note 19) held in Cincinnati in August 1870. It adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that the National Labour Union, assembled in congress, declares its adhesion to the principles of the International Working Men's Association, and expects at no distant day to affiliate with it." This decision, however, was not fulfilled. The leaders of the Union soon became carried away by the utopian projects of a currency reform whose object was to abolish the bank system and secure cheap state credit. In 1870-71 the trade unions withdrew from the National Labour Union, and in 1872 it ceased to exist. p. 256

356 The congress of the Spanish sections began its proceedings in Barcelona on June 19, 1870. It discussed the following questions: benefit societies, co-operation, attitude towards the political struggle, etc. The congress was attended by 90 delegates from Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, Seville, Palma and other cities. It was dominated by the Bakuninists. The Spanish Federal Council elected at the congress included Angel Mora, Francisco Mora, A. Lorenzo and others and was to have its seat in Madrid. p. 256

357 Reference is to a decision the General Council was to adopt in connection with the split at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (see Note 314). p. 256

358 Reference is to the admission of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the International (see pp. 299-301 and 310-11 of the present volume). p. 256

359 See Note 356. p. 258

[360] This refers to the third trial (June 22-July 5, 1870) of the International members in France arrested on the eve of the plebiscite (see Notes 327 and 332). The conspiracy charge fell through and the accused were tried for being members of the International. p. 258

[361] Dupont was dismissed from the musical instrument factory for his political convictions and in July 1870, on Marx's advice, he left London for Manchester to work there. p. 262

[362] See Note 29. p. 262

[363] Reference is to Article 3 of the Rules of the International Association (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 266). p. 267

[364] Reference is to the international Democratic Association founded in Brussels in the autumn of 1847. It included proletarian revolutionaries, primarily from among the German revolutionary emigrants, and advanced petty-bourgeois democrats. Marx and Engels played an active part in founding this Association. Marx acted as its Vice-President, and thanks to him the Democratic Association came to be one of the centres of the international democratic movement on the eve of the 1848-49 Revolution.
Concerning the Fraternal Democrats see Note 109. p. 268

[365] It was Wilhelm Liebknecht who proposed that this question should be included in the agenda of the Mainz Congress (in his letter to Marx of April 27, 1870). It was also discussed at the Stuttgart Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party held on June 4-7, 1870, Liebknecht delivering a report on the subject. p. 268

[366] This Act was passed by Peel's Government in 1844 and divided the English Bank into two independent branches with their own cash funds—one became engaged in purely banking operations and the other issued bank-notes (bank of issue). p. 269

[367] Marx made these remarks on the margins of a printed leaflet containing the programme and rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Notes 43 and 79) apparently on December 15, because the same day, after the General Council's meeting, he sent this document to Engels asking for his opinion. Engels agreed with Marx's notes and expressed his viewpoint in a letter dated December 18, 1868. Using his own notes and those of Engels, Marx drew up a circular letter of the General Council entitled "The International Working Men's Association and the Alliance of Socialist Democracy" (see pp. 299-301 of the present volume). p. 273

[368] Marx apparently refers to the plans to publish *L'Egalité* (see Note 40); Marx was invited to contribute to the paper by A. A. Serno-Solovyevich in his letter of November 20, 1868; the letter, however, did not mention the title of this newspaper. p. 277

[369] The question of Hirsch's slander against the International Working Men's Association was discussed at the General Council meeting of September 29, 1868. p. 281

[370] The decision to publish the Geneva Congress resolutions, approved on the basis of the General Council's report (Karl Marx, "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions", see *The General Council. 1864-1866*, pp. 340-51), and the Brussels Congress resolutions was adopted by the General Council, on Lafargue's and Dupont's proposition, on October 6, 1868. Preliminary work was done by Eccarius, while the final preparations for the press were carried out by Marx. The first part of the pamphlet was published in *The Bee-Hive*, November 21, the second—on December 12, 1868. In February 1869 it appeared as a separate edition *The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868*. The resolutions came to be an important stage in developing socialist principles in the programme of the International Association; they included the Marxist understanding of the working-class economic struggle and of the role of the trade organisations, as well as the cardinal problem of the socialist reorganisation of society—introduction of public ownership of the means of production. Some of the Brussels resolutions, however, were still strongly influenced by Proudhonist ideas, especially those on credit and war (see Note 374). p. 284

[371] This refers to the reform movement (see Note 11). p. 291

[372] During the American Civil War the trade unions of the country actively supported the Northern States in their struggle against the slave-owners; in the spring of 1864 they came out against the reactionary Hastings-Folger Strike Bill. p. 291

[373] Held from July 17 to 21, 1866, this conference was attended by 138 delegates representing 200,000 organised English workers. The main question on the agenda, that of the struggle against lock-outs, was discussed at several meetings. The conference resolution inviting the trade unions to join the International Association was published in the book: *Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom, held in... Sheffield, on July 17th, 1866, and Four Following Days...*. Sheffield, 1866. p. 291

374 The draft resolution on war was proposed by Becker, in the name of the German-speaking sections, at a Congress meeting of September 13, 1868. It partially reflected the stand set forth by Marx on September 10, 1868, in his letter to Lessner and Eccarius, the General Council delegates to the Brussels Congress. But the Congress approved Tolain's draft, amended by an altogether unrealisable Belgian proposal on a general strike in the event of war. Marx described this idea as an "absurdity" (see Note 23). p. 297

375 The resolution against the League of Peace and Freedom was adopted by the Brussels Congress on September 12, 1868, in connection with the International's invitation from the League to attend its congress in Berne in September 1868. The invitation was initiated by Bakunin who, being at the time a member of the League's Central Committee, sought to bring the International Association under his influence. p. 297

376 This circular letter of the General Council was written by Marx on the Council's instructions (see pp. 53-54 and 56 of the present volume and Notes 43, 44 and 367). Sent out to all sections and branches of the International confidentially, it was published for the first time in 1872 in the General Council's circular, drawn up by Marx and Engels and entitled "Sham Splits in the International" ("Les Prétendues Scissions dans l'Internationale. Circulaire privée du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs"). Several manuscripts of the text with minor variations have been preserved (two of Marx's manuscripts: one dated December 22, 1868, and the other as a supplement to his letter to Jung written on August 6, 1870; two MS copies: one made by Jung and the other by Dupont and Engels). p. 299

377 "Rules of the International Working Men's Association", London, 1867 (see *The General Council. 1866-1868*, p. 270). p. 300

378 This report was drawn up by Engels on Marx's request (see Note 73) and was published in English, in an abridged form, in the *Bee-Hive* (February 27, 1869) report of this General Council meeting. *The Times*, *The Daily News*, *The Morning Advertiser* refused to publish the document. Early in March, Marx translated the report into German and it was printed in the newspapers: *Der Social-Demokrat* No. 33, March 17, 1869, *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 12, March 20, 1869, and *Die Zukunft* Nos. 67 and 68, March 20 and 21, 1869; the English text is not extant. p. 302

379 From Hansemann's speech at a session of the first Joint Landtag on June 8, 1847 (see "Preussens Erster Reichstag", Th. 7, Berlin, 1847, S. 55). p. 303

380 Allusion is to the words of Rochow, Prussian Home Minister, from his letter of January 15, 1838, addressed to the people of

Elbing discontent as they were with the expulsion of seven oppositionally-minded professors from the Hanover Landtag. He wrote: "The loyal subjects must display due obedience to their kings and masters but must not, with their limited mind, interfere into the affairs of the Heads of State." p. 308

381 Drawn up by Marx, this letter was discussed with Engels, and sent out confidentially to all sections of the International. Several manuscripts of this text with insignificant readings are available (two draft manuscripts of Marx in English and French, Marx's complete manuscript in French, a copy in French made in an unknown hand with Marx's corrections) (see Note 79). p. 310

382 Article 2 of the Alliance programme was to be found in the programme with which Bakunin came forward at the Berne Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in September 1868. Concerning changes in this article see Note 162. p. 311

383 This address was drawn up by Marx by a decision of the General Council adopted on April 20, 1869 (see p. 88 of the present volume). It was published in English as a separate pamphlet *The Belgian Massacres...*; in French, in several newspapers: *L'Internationale* No. 18, May 15, 1869; *La Liberté* No. 99, May 16, 1869; *L'Egalité* No. 18, May 22, 1869. The German text, as translated by Eccarius, was published in the newspaper *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 21, May 22, 1869, and in the journal *Der Vorbote* No. 6, June 1869. p. 312

384 On March 26, 1868, the Charleroi coalfield, Belgium, was the scene of bloody clashes between strikers, protesting against lower wages and reduced production, and the police. Twenty-two people, including five women, were arrested and put on trial, charged with attempted murder and damage to the colliery owners' property. On April 5, the Brussels section set up a special committee to brief lawyers for the defence of the arrested. The lawyers managed to set public opinion in favour of the accused, and on August 15 the jury acquitted them on the plea that the workers' actions had been provoked by an unreasonable cut in wages that doomed their families to starvation, and that their preliminary five months' imprisonment was in itself severe enough punishment. p. 313

385 When the French text of the address was published in the Belgian press, as De Paepe wrote to Marx on May 31, 1869, the names of Kamp, Pirmez and the Prince of Flanders were omitted for reasons of censorship and replaced by the words "persons occupying high posts in Belgium". p. 313

386 "*Les sommations préalables*" (preliminary warning to disperse)—in a number of bourgeois countries, the treble demand of the

authorities, provided by law, to the crowd suggesting to disperse, after which armed force can be resorted to. p. 314

[387] Reference is to the Franco-Belgian negotiations (between February and July 1869) on railway concessions in view of the fact that the Belgian Parliament had passed a law by which the transfer of concessionary rights could be done only by the authorities' permission; the law, which was passed very quickly, was directed against the economic expansion of France which tried to seize the Belgian railways. p. 314

[388] Belgium was declared neutral by the protocol of the London conference of five countries (Britain, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia) in January 1831, soon after the Belgian bourgeois revolution of 1830 and Belgium's separation from Holland. p. 315

[389] Originally the name of a religious sect of cut-throats in India, the word "thug" came to be widely used in nineteenth-century European literature to denote professional ruffians and assassins. p. 316

[390] The question of the right of inheritance was included in the Basle Congress programme on the insistence of the section which was founded in Geneva by Bakunin, in May 1869, under the title "Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section" (see Note 79). Drawn up by Marx, the "Report of the General Council on the Right of Inheritance" was the result of discussion of this question at the Council meetings in the summer of 1869 (see pp. 128-33 of the present volume). At the Basle Congress it was read by Eccarius on September 11 and reproduced in full in the reports of the Congress in English, French and German: *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland. From the 6th to the 11th September, 1869*, London, [1869], pp. 26-27; *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Compte-rendu du IV-e Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en septembre, 1869*, Bruxelles, 1869, pp. 122-24; *Verhandlungen des IV. Congresses des internationalen Arbeiterbundes in Basel*, NN 1-7, Basel, 7-14 September 1869, S. 77-80; and in *Der Vorbote* No. 10, October 1869, pp. 150-52. p. 322

[391] The General Council's appeal issued in connection with the death of Sylvis, President of the National Labour Union, U.S., was drawn up by Eccarius by decision of the General Council adopted at its meeting on August 17, 1869. The appeal was published in the report of this Council meeting in *The Bee-Hive*, August 21, and in *The Workingman's Advocate*, September 18, 1869. p. 325

392 Reference is to the Philadelphia Congress of the National Labour Union (see Note 201). p. 325

393 This report was drawn up by Marx, by the General Council's decision of August 31, 1869, for the Basle Congress held on September 6-11, 1869. Marx did not attend the Congress but took an active part in its preparations, especially in working out its programme (see pp. 120, 122, 128-32, 140-41, 146-47, etc., of the present volume).

Having discussed the land question for the second time, the Basle Congress decided by a majority in favour of abolishing private property in land and turning it into common property; it also adopted decisions to unite trade unions on a national and international scale, to strengthen the International organisationally and extend the General Council's powers. At this Congress the supporters of Marx's scientific socialism came into the first open conflict with the followers of Bakuninist anarchism over the question of the abolition of the right of inheritance.

The text of the General Council's report, written by Marx in English, was read in German and French; in German it was published as a separate pamphlet, *Bericht des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association an IV. allgemeinen Congress in Basel.* Basel, 1869; in English and French the report was published together with the Minutes of the Congress sittings in the pamphlets: *Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basle, in Switzerland.* London, [1869], pp. 7-13; *Compte-rendu du IV-e Congrès International, tenu à Bâle, en septembre, 1869,* pp. 9-23; and in a number of newspapers and journals: *L'Internationale* No. 37, September 26, and No. 38, October 3, 1869; *Le Progrès* Nos. 26, 27 and 28, December 11, 18 and 25, 1869, and Nos. 1, 2, 3, January 1, 8, 15, 1870; *Der Vorbote* No. 9, September 1869; *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* Nos. 41, 42 and 43, September 18, 22 and 25, 1869; and in the Naples newspaper *L'Eguaglianza* Nos. 8 and 9, December 24 and 31, 1869; in Russian it was published in the journal *Narodnoye Dyelo* No. 7, November 10, 1869. p. 326

394 *Allgemeine Zeitung* Nos. 9 and 13, January 9 and 13, 1869. p. 328

395 "Les orgies infernales des casse-têtes" ("Informal orgies of the knuckle-dusters")—from a speech by Raspail, a deputy to the Legislative Corps, at a session on July 8, 1869, in which he protested against the violence of the Bonaparte police during the elections in Paris (see Note 139). p. 329

396 Reference is to the French bank "Société générale de Crédit Mobilier" founded in 1852. Marx exposed its machinations in his articles published in *The New-York Daily Tribune.* p. 330

[397] "*Les chassepots avaient encore fait merveille*" ("Chassepots have worked wonders again"); *chassepots*—rifles improved by Chassepot and adopted by the French army in 1866. p. 335

[398] "Live working or die fighting"—this is the slogan of the Lyons weavers who rose in rebellion in 1831. p. 337

[399] This address, written in connection with the strike of the New York paper-stainers, was drawn up by Eccarius on the Council's instructions (see p. 162 of the present volume) and published in *L'Internationale* on October 3, 1869. The letter of the New York workers was reproduced in *The Bee-Hive* on October 2, 1869. An MS version of the address in German in Eccarius's hand is also available. There are slight differences between the German, French and English texts. p. 343

[400] This address, which is in fact the manifesto of the Land and Labour League founded in October 1869 (see Note 224), was drawn up by Eccarius about November 14, 1869, and edited by Marx. p. 345

[401] This category includes people getting income from trade and people of free professions. p. 346

[402] Drawn up by Eccarius by the General Council's decision of November 9, 1869, this document is a reply to the letter from the New Democracy (see Note 225). p. 352

[403] This circular was written by Marx as a reply to the numerous attacks launched by Bakuninists against the General Council in the columns of *L'Egalité* and *Le Progrès* (see Notes 227, 233 and 267). At first the letter was not intended for publication. An excerpt was published in 1872 in the confidential circular "Sham Splits in the International", drawn up by Marx and Engels. It was printed in full in *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 2, No. 15, July 12, 1902. There are several manuscripts of the text: two MS copies, one made by Jenny Marx and corrected by Marx (it is the basis of the present edition), and the other, by Hermann Jung; a third MS copy, made by Dupont, is kept in the Lyons municipal archives. Marx's manuscript, enclosed in his letter to Kugelmann dated March 28, 1870, is known under the title "Confidential Communication". p. 354

[404] *The League of Common Good*—Association of feudal gentry founded in France in 1464 and directed against the policy, pursued by Louis XI, of uniting France in a single centralised state. The League members acted for the "common good" of France. p. 355

405 *Verhandlungen des IV. Congresses der internationalen Arbeiterbundes in Basel,* NN 1-7, 7-14. September 1869, S. 90. p. 356

406 *Congrès Ouvrier. Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Règlement Provisoire* [Paris, 1864], p. 1. p. 361

407 Reference is to the French translation of the Provisional Rules made by Charles Longuet and published in the summer of 1866 It was printed in a pamphlet, issued by the newspaper *Rive Gauche, Manifeste de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs suivi du Règlement provisoire.* p. 362

408 *Der Social-Demokrat* No. 82, July 16, 1869. p. 362

409 Liebknecht's statement of February 18, 1869, was published in *Demokratisches Wochenblatt* No. 8, February 20, 1869 (see Note 268). p. 362

410 His refusal was published in *Der Social-Demokrat* No. 24, February 24, 1869. p. 362

411 Marx wrote this obituary by the General Council's decision of January 4, 1870 (see p. 199 of the present volume) and sent it, on January 8, 1870, to Belgium, together with a report on the General Council's activity, to the Belgian Federal Council. It was published in *L'Internationale* No. 53, January 16, 1870, with an editorial note: "News from London". p. 364

412 This letter was written by Marx by the General Council's decision admitting the Russian section (see Note 309) into the International Working Men's Association and appointing Marx representative of this section in the General Council. The letter was published in the section's newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo* No. 1, April 15, 1870. p. 366

413 This resolution was drawn up by Marx in reply to the Geneva Committee's insistent request that the General Council should adopt a decision in connection with the split in the Romance sections at the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress (see Note 314). It was approved by the General Council on June 28, 1870, and sent to both federal committees by Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland. The resolution was published in the newspapers *Solidarité* No. 16, July 23, and *Mirabeau* No. 53, July 24, 1870. p. 368

414 The lock-out of the Geneva building workers was discussed by the General Council at its meeting on June 21, 1870, which instructed Marx to draw up an address to the trade unions and sections of

the International in Europe and the United States. Marx's address was approved by the Council on July 5 and published in leaflet form in English, German and French: "The Lock-Out of the Building Trades at Geneva. The General Council of the International Working Men's Association to the Working Men and Women of Europe and the United States"; "Die Aussperrung der Bauarbeiter in Genf. Der Generalrath der internationalen Arbeiterassoziation an die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten"; "La Grève des corps de métiers en bâtiment à Genève. Appel du Conseil général de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs aux travailleurs et travailleuses de l'Europe et des Etats-Unis". The German text was also published in *Der Volksstaat* No. 56, July 13, 1870; *Volkswille* No. 25, July 16, 1870; *Der Vorbote* No. 7, July 1870.

Volkswille—Austrian workers' paper published in Vienna between January 1870 and June 1874. p. 369

[415] This appeal was adopted on June 2, 1870, at a meeting of the Association of Building Trade Masters in the Canton of Geneva, and published as a poster putting the whole responsibility for organising the strike in Geneva on the International Association. The masters demanded that the authorities should put into effect an article in the federal constitution entitling the government to expel "foreigners violating the home and foreign security of Switzerland". p. 370

[416] The agenda of the Mainz Congress of the International was drawn up by Marx, approved by the General Council on July 12, 1870 (see pp. 268-70 of the present volume), and published as a leaflet, in English: "The Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association".

It was also published by several newspapers in French and German: *La Solidarité* No. 17, July 30; *La Liberté* No. 162, July 31; *Der Volksstaat* No. 65, August 13, and in *Der Vorbote* No. 7, July 1870. p. 372

[417] This is an extended version of the agenda for the Mainz Congress (see Note 416); it was sent by Marx to Jung on July 14, 1870, for publication in the Swiss and Belgian newspapers. p. 374

[418] This document was drawn up by Marx in connection with the General Council's discussion of the question on the change of the Council's seat (see pp. 255-57, 261 and 266-68 of the present volume). It was enclosed by Marx in his letter to Jung written on July 14, 1869. The sections were in favour of London remaining the seat of the General Council. p. 375

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Bauer, Edgar (1820-1886)—German publicist, Young Hegelian; emigrated to England after the Revolution of 1848-49, editor of the London *Neue Zeit* (1859); Prussian official after the 1861 amnesty.—283.

Beales, Edmond (1803-1881)—English jurist, bourgeois radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; member of the British Emancipation Society which during the American Civil War supported the North; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—52.

Bebel, August (1840-1913)—a leading figure in the international and German working-class movement; turner by trade; President of the League of German Workers' Unions, member of the International; from 1867 member of the Reichstag; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; fought Lassalleanism; took a proletarian, internationalist stand during the Franco-Prussian war; came out in support of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels; active in the Second International; in the 1890s and at the turn of the century fought against reformism and revisionism.—82.

Becker, Ernest (d. after 1898)—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; brush-maker by trade; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; after the Baden insurrection emigrated to Switzerland; one of the outstanding leaders of the International; organiser of the German sections of the International in Switzerland; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and to all the congresses of the International; editor of *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); in October 1868 became a member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy,

but influenced by Marx and Engels soon broke with Bakunin; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—53, 137, 202, 219, 276, 362.

Bédeau—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Bedford, Edward—British worker, shoemaker.—76,77.

Bel, André (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, joiner; Secretary of the Joiners' Society in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. —277.

Bernard, Marie—Belgian housepainter; member of the General Council, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (September 1868-November 1869). —31, 35, 36, 38, 41, 43-45, 49, 52, 55, 57, 60, 62, 65, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 85, 89, 92, 97, 103, 104, 105, 106, 109, 111, 113, 117, 123, 128, 174, 178, 185, 194, 196, 318.

Berthoumieu—member of the Paris Federal Council of the International.—228.

Bervi, Vassily (pseudonym N. Flerovsky) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist, democrat, Narodnik utopian socialist, author of the book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia.* —366, 367.

Besson, Alexandre—French worker, mechanic, a refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, one of the leaders of the French branch in London; petty-bourgeois republican, follower of Félix Pyat.—42, 83.

Biscamp, Elard—German democrat, journalist, participant in the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany, emigrated after its defeat; member of the editorial board of *Volk*, the newspaper of the German refugees in London, published under Marx's direction.—283.

Bismarck, Otto, von Schönhausen, Prince (1815-1898)—statesman and diplomat, Prussian Junker; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71), Chancellor of the North-German Union (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means; bitter enemy of the working-class movement; author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878). —334.

Blanc, André—member of the Lyons section of the International.—215.

Blanchard, D. A. (d. 1869)—owner of a printing house in Geneva, member of the International; member of the initiating group of the Al-

liance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Blum, Robert (1807-1849)—German democrat, headed the Left wing in the Frankfurt National Assembly; in October 1848 took part in the defence of Vienna; shot after the capture of Vienna by counter-revolutionary troops.—187.

Bockett—British worker, bookbinder; Secretary of the Bookbinders' Society in London.—174.

Boffety, François (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, joiner; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Boon, Martin James—British worker, mechanic; active in the British working-class movement, follower of O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (March 1869-72), Secretary of the Land and Labour League, member of the British Federal Council (1872).—72, 76, 77, 92, 103, 106, 109, 111, 113, 117, 120, 122, 138, 150, 153, 154, 156, 165, 174-176, 194, 202, 227, 321, 351.

Bora, Giovanni—member of the Italian section in Geneva, member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (July 1870-May 1871).—232, 237, 241, 247, 250, 251, 253, 255, 258, 262, 317.

Borret, Etienne—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891)—British journalist and politician, bourgeois radical, atheist, editor of the weekly *National Reformer;* after the Paris Commune sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men's Association.—124.

Bradnick, Frederick—member of the General Council of the International (January 1870-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871; following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council, May 30, 1873.—199, 202, 204, 206, 208, 253, 258.

Braun, Karl Joseph Wilhelm (1822-1893)—German jurist and politician, publicist; national-liberal; deputy to the North-German (1867-70) and the German (1870-87) Reichstag.—82.

Brechtel, C. (d. after 1898)—member of the Geneva Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Switzerland (1866); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Demo-

cracy and of the Geneva section of the International, named Alliance of Socialist Democracy (January-March 1870).—277.

Bright, John (1811-1889)—British manufacturer, one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts in Liberal Cabinets.—179, 181, 186, 193, 203.

Brightwell, William—British worker, mason; member of the First International.—95.

Bronterre O'Brien. See *O'Brien, James.*

Broughton—American worker, upholsterer; President of No. 1 Lodge of the Upholsterers' Society in the State of New York.—343.

Bruce, Henry Austin (1815-1895)—English statesman, Liberal, Home Secretary (1868-73).—115, 179, 340.

Bruhin, Caspar Aloïs (b. 1824)—Swiss publicist and politician; Procurator of the Basle canton, from 1864; Chairman of the Basle sections of the International, from 1869; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—78, 157.

Buckley, James—British trade unionist, member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-69) and of the Reform League.—31, 35, 43, 46, 49, 51, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 81, 85, 92, 97, 103, 282.

Buckmaster, H.—clerk in the Science and Art Department, Kinsington Museum, advocated technical education for the working class.—109.

Burke, Richard (d. 1870)—Irish revolutionary, Fenian, officer in the North-American Army, organiser of the Irish uprising of 1867; arrested in 1867, died in prison.—200.

Burke, Thomas Henry (1829-1882)—British statesman; in the 1860s was private secretary to the Chief Secretary for Irish Affairs.—180.

Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P.; in the 1860s was engaged in the defence of the Fenians; in the 1870s, organiser of the Home Rule movement in Ireland.—180, 182, 183, 197.

C

Camélinat, Zéfirin (1840-1932)—French bronze-worker; prominent in the French working-class movement; one of the leaders of the Paris sections of the International; participant in the Paris Commune, after its defeat a refugee in Britain; took an

active part in the socialist movement; member of the French Communist Party (from 1920).—228.

Cameron, Andrew Carr (1834-1890)—U.S. labour leader; typographer; editor of *The Workingman's Advocate* (Chicago); member of the National Labour Union; attended the Basle Congress of the International as the Union's representative.—155, 156, 160, 161, 164.

Camperio, Philipp (1810-1882)—Swiss statesman; member of the Grand Council (1847-70); President of the State Council of Geneva and head of the Department of Justice and Police (1868).—252, 253, 370.

Caporusso, Stefano (Etienne)—Italian worker, tailor; anarchist; one of the founders of the Naples section of the International and its Chairman; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); in 1870 was expelled from the section for embezzlement.—73, 239, 240.

Carey, Martin Hanley—Irish journalist, Fenian.—181.

Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769-1822)—British statesman, Tory; Chief Secretary for Ireland (1799-1801), was responsible for the savage suppression of the Irish uprising in 1798. Secretary for War and the Colonies (1805-06, 1807-09), Foreign Minister (1812-22).—189.

Catalan, Adolphe—Swiss radical journalist, editor of *La Liberté;* delegate to the Brussels Congress of the International from the Société pour l'affranchissement de la pensée et de l'individu (1868); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Chanoz, Jean-Baptiste (b. 1828)—French worker, weaver; member of the Lyons section of the International.—215.

Charnal, de—French refugee in London; close to the Pyat and Vésinier group; left the International following Vésinier's expulsion (autumn of 1868).—63.

Chemalé, Félix Eugène (born c. 1839)—French architect; Right-wing Proudhonist; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; was involved in the first trial of the International's members in Paris (1868).—158.

Cheneval, L. J.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Chernyshevsky, Nikolai (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat; materialist philosopher, writer and literary critic, one of the outstanding

predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy.—367.

Chevallier, François—participant in the Swiss working-class movement; member of the committee of the Geneva Bakers' Co-operative Society which was a section of the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. —277.

Cirma, Francesco Antonio—Italian worker, carpenter; Secretary of the Naples section of the International.—74.

Cluseret, Gustave Paul (1823-1900)—French politician, General; joined Garibaldi's volunteers in Italy (1860); took part in the American Civil War; member of the International; was close to the Bakuninists; in the spring of 1870 acted as the General Council's correspondent in the U.S.A.; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to the U.S.A. after its defeat. —91, 163, 220, 241, 243, 244, 247, 248, 259.

Cobbett, William (1762-1835)—British politician and journalist; Radical; advocated democratisation of British political system; in 1802 began publication of *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*.—189.

Cobden, Richard (1804-1865)—British manufacturer; M.P.; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League.—204.

Cohn, James—British worker, cigar-maker; active in the British working-class movement, President of the London Association of Cigar-Makers; member of the General Council of the International (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1870-71), delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) and the London Conference (1871) of the International.—31, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 74, 76, 97, 99, 103, 113, 133, 135, 148-50, 153, 154, 156, 161, 175-177, 197, 199, 200, 201, 209, 210, 214, 215, 218, 227, 230, 258-61, 282.

Combault, Amédée Benjamin (born c. 1838-died after 1884) —French worker, jeweller; active in the French working-class movement; while a refugee in London he became a member of the General Council of the International (1866-67); in 1870 founded one of the Paris sections of the International and joined the Paris Federal Council; was involved in the third trial against the International Working Men's Association in France; member of the Paris Commune, Chief of the Board of Direct Taxes; afterwards again emigrated to London.—112, 205, 210, 213, 228, 239.

Commerford—American journalist.—150.

Congreve, Richard (1818-1899)—British publicist, Positivist, follower of Auguste Comte.—264.

Coningsby, Robert—British journalist; democrat, flirted with workers; secretary of the organising committee of the Anglo-French Industrial Exhibition which opened in London in August 1865.—51, 232.

Coomans, Jean-Baptiste (1813-d. after 1893)—Belgian journalist, clerical; from 1848, a member of the House of Deputies.—88.

Cooper.—52.

Copeland—a leading figure in the atheist movement in Britain; member of the General Council of the International (June 1868-69).—31, 282.

Coppet, Louis de—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Cormier, Aristide—worker in the lace industry; member of the Lyons section of the International.—215.

Cottam, Richard—English engraver, owner of the printing house which printed the International's membership cards up to 1870; member of the International.—50, 77, 100, 104, 136, 138, 164, 234, 255.

Coulin, L.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Courtois, Jacques—Swiss worker, carpenter; member of the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Cremer, William Randal (1838-1908)—British trade unionist and reformer; one of the founders of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860), member of the London Trades Council; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, opposed revolutionary tactics; subsequently Liberal M.P. (1885-95 and 1900-08), active in the bourgeois-pacifist movement.—151.

Crochet, François (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, carpenter; member of the initiating group of the Alliance

of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Croset, J.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Croset, Suzette—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276-77.

Crosset, Edouard—Swiss worker, printer; took part in the Inaugural Congress of the Romance Federation of the International (January 1869); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; opponent of Bakunin.—276.

D

Danter, Robert—British trade unionist; President of the United Foundrymen, 1860s-1870s; member of the London Trades Council.—234.

Dassy, Giuseppe—Italian workers' leader, delegate to the Geneva Congress of the International (1866) from the workers' mutual aid society in Cerignola; the General Council correspondent in Naples.—80.

Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889)—American statesman, big slave-owning planter, Democrat, one of the organisers of the Southern slave-owners' revolt; President of the Confederate States of America (1861-65).—181, 187, 193.

Dean, Frederick—English worker, smith; member of the International, delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—162.

Delesalle, B.—Belgian worker, jeweller; member of the Brussels section of the International (1868); one of the organisers of the "Revolutionary Committee" (of the section) in Brussels that came out against the General Council and the Belgian Federal Council.—90.

Dell, William—interior decorator, active in the British working-class and democratic movement; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67); a leader of the Reform League.—31, 38, 234, 282.

De Paepe, César (1842-1890)—prominent figure in the Belgian working-class and socialist movement; compositor, subsequently—physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International; member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, and to the London

Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—34, 178, 239.

Dereure, Simon (1838-1900)—active in the French and international working-class movement; shoemaker by trade; follower of Blanqui, member of the *Marseillaise* editorial board; member of the Paris Commune, after its suppression left for the U.S.A.; delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the General Council elected by the Hague Congress (1872); in 1882 joined the French Workers' Party.—167.

Détraz, Ch.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; did not take part in the Alliance's work.—277.

Dinter, Johann Gotlieb (1813-1910)—German miner, leader of the miners' union in Zwikau.—308.

Disraeli, Benjamin, from 1876 Earl of *Beaconsfield* (1804-1881)—British statesman and novelist, leader of the Conservative Party in the latter part of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852, 1858-59 and 1866-68), Prime Minister (1868 and 1874-80).—179.

Dodson (or Dodshon), *George*—British trade unionist, Secretary of the Society of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, member of the Labour Representation League.—37.

Donat-père—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Dunaud, Antoine—Swiss worker, engraver; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; at a congress of the Romance Federation of the International held in La Chaux-de-Fonds (April 1870) came out against the Bakuninists.—277.

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; French worker, musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71), participant in all the congresses (excluding the Basle) and conferences of the International; in 1870 moved to Manchester where he formed a branch of the International; in 1872 became a member of the British Federal Council of the

International; in 1874 moved to the U.S.A.; friend and associate of Marx and Engels. —31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 63, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 89, 92, 97, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 123, 133, 134, 135, 142, 148, 150, 156, 161, 162, 163, 165, 168, 169, 171, 174, 178, 197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 218, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 233, 234, 237, 240, 241, 244, 247, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 263, 277, 301, 318, 321.

Dupraz, Louis—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; was delegated by the Geneva building workers to negotiate with the government during their strike in the spring of 1869.—277.

Durand, Gustave Paul Emile (b. 1835)—French worker, jeweller; jewellers' delegate to the syndical chamber of the Paris workers' societies; police agent, after the suppression of the Paris Commune fled to London where he passed himself off as a refugee; Secretary of the French section (1871); in October 1871 was exposed and expelled from the International.—218.

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George) (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, working-class publicist; tailor; an émigré in London; member of the League of the Just, later of the Communist League; one of the leaders of the London German Workers' Educational Association; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for English-language sections in America; delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; after the Hague Congress supported dissenters, later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—31-38, 43, 44, 49, 51, 62, 65, 66, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 89, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 123, 124, 127, 128, 133, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 146, 148, 149, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 184, 188, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 225, 227,

230, 233, 237, 240, 241, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 261, 262, 270, 318, 321, 325, 342, 344, 351, 353, 371, 373.

Eichhoff, Wilhelm Karl (1833-1895)—German socialist and publicist; refugee in London (1861-66); member of the International (from 1868) and one of its first historians; organiser of the Berlin section of the International; General Council's correspondent; member of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany (from 1869).—46.

Elpidin, Mikhail (1835-1908)—took part in the Russian students' revolutionary movement in the early 1860s; in 1865 emigrated to Geneva, founded a Russian printing plant where the newspaper *Narodnoye Dyelo (People's Cause)* was published; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Emérique—Belgian businessman.—192.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803-1882)—American poet and essayist, an idealist philosopher.—145.

Engels, Frederick (1820-1895)—309.

Eyre, Edward John (1815-1901)—British colonial official, Governor of Jamaica (1864-66), suppressed a Negro insurrection in 1865.—314.

F

Farga Pellicer, Rafael (1840-1890)—Spanish anarchist; printer and journalist; an organiser of the Alliance and of the first sections of the International in Spain, one of the leaders of the secret Alliance, editor of *Federacion* (1869-73); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; one of the leaders of a Spanish anarchist organisation; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council, May 30, 1873.—112.

Filliétaz, G.—took part in the Swiss working-class movement in the second half of the 1860s; member of the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Fisher—79.

Flerovsky, N. See *Bervi, Vassily.*

Flourens, Gustave (1838-1871)—French naturalist and revolutionary, follower of Blanqui, an organiser of the Paris risings on October 31, 1870, and January 22, 1871; member of the Paris Commune; in April 1871 was killed by the Versaillists.—227.

Fornachon, L. H. (d. after 1898)—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the Geneva section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Fortescue-Parkinson, Chichester Samuel (1823-1898)—British statesman, Liberal M.P. (1847-74), Chief Secretary for Ireland (1865-66 and 1868-70), held several government posts.—180.

Foster, John (father)—British worker, carpenter; member of a co-operative society in Hull; member of the International, delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—162.

Foster, John (son)—British worker, mechanic; member of a co-operative society in Hull; member of the International, delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868).—162.

Fox, Peter (Peter Fox André) (d. 1869)—journalist, active in the British democratic and working-class movement; Positivist; one of the leaders of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69); from 1865, the General Council's official press correspondent; General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866), Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); one of the editors of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—31, 107.

Francillon, Ernest (1834-1900)—Swiss owner of a watch factory in St. Imier; deputy to the Grand and later National Council (1881-90).—68.

Franquin, Jules (real name *Colmia*) (b. 1838)—French worker, lithographer; leader of the lithographers' chamber, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); was involved in the third trial of the International in Paris (1870); member of the Paris Commune.—228.

Fraser—member of the General Council of the International (June-September 1869).—76, 106, 111, 117, 156, 162.

Frey, Joseph Heinrich—Swiss worker, ribbon-weaver; President of the Basle section of the International (1868), delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International, member of the editorial board of *Der Arbeiter*—newspaper of the Basle sections.—64, 78.

Friess, J. (or Fries)—member of the Central Committee

of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Fritzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm (1825-1905)—one of the reformist leaders of the German Social-Democrat and trade union movement; tobacco-maker; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; one of the founders and leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; follower of Lassalle; deputy to the North-German Reichstag.—82, 125.

Fullerton, James—American worker, upholsterer; Secretary of Branch No. 1 of Upholsterers' Society in the State of New York.—343.

Fulliquet, Louis—Swiss worker; member of the International, Secretary of the Geneva Cabinet-Makers' section; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

G

Gambetta, Léon (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois republican, member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71).—116.

Gandillon, Ami—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Garbani, Paul—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Gardner, William—British worker, member of the General Council of the International (1865-67).—95.

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, leader of the Italian national liberation movement; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49 in Italy; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of Italy; in the 1870s came out in defence of the Paris Commune; welcomed the establishment of sections of the International in Italy.—187, 188, 189.

Gay, Désirée—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Gay, François—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in May 1869 refused to become member of the committee of the Geneva section Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Gay, Jules (1807-d. after 1876)—French publicist, utopian communist, follower of Owen; publisher of *Le Communiste* in Paris (1849);

member of the International; an editor of *L'Egalité* and *La Liberté*; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Giustiniani, Antonio—Italian worker, pattern-maker; active in the Italian working-class movement; treasurer (1869) of the Naples section of the International; editor of *L'Eguaglianza*.—74.

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, then Peelite, in the latter half of the nineteenth century one of the leaders of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).—40, 73, 179, 180, 181, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 193, 242.

Goegg, Amandus (1820-1897)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; member of the Baden Provisional Government in 1849; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated to Switzerland; member of the International; in the 1870s joined the German Social-Democrats.—202, 219.

Gottlob, Walter—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Grange, Charles—Swiss worker, plasterer; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the Geneva section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822-1885)—American General and statesman, Republican; participant in the American Civil War (1861-65); from March 1864 on, Commander-in-Chief of the Northern armies; War Secretary (1867-68), U.S. President (1869-77).—52.

Gregory, J. W. (d. 1872)—American petty-bourgeois democrat, member of the reformist society New Democracy of New York and of the Cosmopolitan Society; follower of bourgeois feminists, Woodhall and Claflin.—202, 212.

Grosselin, Jacques (1835-1892)—Swiss watchmaker, member of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—192.

Guerry—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Guile, Daniel (1814-1893)—active in the English trade union movement, Secretary of the London Foundrymen's Society (1834-81); member of the London Trades Council, the Labour Representation League and the Share-

holders' Committee of *The Bee-Hive*.—250.

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, Bakuninist; member of the International, delegate to several congresses of the International; one of the organisers of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Progrès*, *Solidarité* and *Bulletin de la Fédération Jurassienne*; at the Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from the International for his splitting activities.—227.

Guillmeaux—member of the Romance Federation of the International, Chairman of the section of turners and mechanics; elected member of the *Egalité* editorial board at the federation's congress in January 1869; withdrew from the board in January 1870, together with the other Bakuninists.—277.

Guinet, Jenny—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Guyot, Ch.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

H

Haeberling, Adolphe—member of the initiating committee of a bakers' co-operative society in Geneva affiliated to the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British worker, weaver, trade union leader; member of the Reform League, the Land and Labour League; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; President, then Secretary of the British Federal Council, headed its reformist wing; waged a struggle against Marx and his followers; expelled from the International by General Council's decision of May 30, 1873.—31, 46, 48, 49, 51, 60, 61, 70, 76, 77, 92, 96, 103, 111, 113, 128, 132, 138, 148, 150, 151, 154-56, 161, 162, 164, 165-77, 184, 188, 195-97, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 212, 215, 217, 222, 223, 227, 228, 230, 231, 241, 246-49, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 269, 282, 321.

Hales, William—member of the General Council of the International (1867, 1869-72).—172, 177, 184, 195, 197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 222, 230, 253, 258, 261, 262.

Hansemann, David (1790-1864)—German capitalist, one of

the leaders of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Prussian Minister of Finance (March-September 1848); pursued a treacherous policy of agreement with the reactionaries. —303.

Harney, John Julian (1817-1897)—prominent figure in the British working-class movement, one of the leaders of the Chartist Left wing; editor of *The Northern Star*, the weekly *Red Republican*, and other Chartist periodicals; an émigré in the U.S.A. (1862-78); member of the International; close associate of Marx and Engels.—76, 92, 97, 241.

Harris, George—active in the British working-class movement, follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—106, 111, 113, 117, 118, 121-24, 126, 133, 135, 138, 140-42, 144, 146, 148-50, 153, 156, 161, 162, 165-72, 174, 176, 177, 184, 190, 191, 194, 195, 197, 200, 201, 202, 206, 209, 211, 212, 215, 221, 225, 230, 232, 233, 237, 240, 241, 245, 246, 247, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 257, 262, 263, 269.

Harry, W.—English worker, carpenter; Secretary of the Carpenters' society in Chelsea; member of the General Council of the International (1866).—110.

Hartwell, Robert (born c. 1812)—printer by trade; active in the British labour and democratic movement; former Chartist; one of the editors of *The Bee-Hive*; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); was on the Reform League's Executive Committee; Secretary of the London Working Men's Union.—232.

Heligon, Jean Pierre (b. 1834)—French bookseller; Right-wing Proudhonist, member of the Paris Bureau of the International; was involved in the third trial of the International in Paris (1870); supporter of the Thiers government; expelled from the International for betraying the working class.—68.

Héridier, Marc—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. —277.

Hins, Eugen (1839-1923)—Belgian teacher, Proudhonist, subsequently Bakuninist; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the First International; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle

(1869) congresses.—86, 88, 90, 95, 107.

Hins, Jeanne (c. 1847-1869)—*née Brismée*—wife of Eugen Hins.—107.

Hirsch, Max (1832-1905)—German economist, prominent figure in the bourgeois Progressist Party; in 1868, together with F. Dunker, founded reformist trade unions, known as Hirsch-Dunker trade unions, that existed until 1933.—36, 281, 283.

Howell, George (1833-1910)—British worker, mason, former Chartist; one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International; Secretary of the Reform League and of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1871-75).—31, 282.

Holyoake, George Jacob (1817-1906)—British publicist; reformist; in the 1830s and 1840s joined followers of Owen and the Chartists; subsequently, leader of the co-operative movement.—124.

Huart, Joseph Serafien (born c. 1832)—Belgian worker, tailor; member of the Brussels section of the International; in 1869 organised in Rheims a society for the defence of rights that joined the International; was sentenced by the French court to a year's imprisonment for belonging to the International; in April 1871 tried to organise assistance to the Paris Commune in the Ardennes Department, on April 8 was arrested and deported from France.—239.

Hugo, Victor (1802-1885)—great French writer.—248.

Hume, Robert William—American radical; member of the International, General Council's correspondent.—197, 212, 215, 217, 226, 241, 243, 248, 249, 259, 260.

I

Ironfield.—108.

Isard—member of the French branch in London, in 1867 emigrated to the U.S.A.—36, 41.

J

Jaclard, Charles Victor (1843-1903)—French publicist, Blanquist, member of the International; became member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy but soon broke with

the Bakuninists; active in the Paris Commune, commander of a legion of the National Guard; following the suppression of the Paris Commune emigrated to Switzerland and then to Russia; after the 1880 amnesty returned to France and continued to take part in the socialist movement.—118, 277.

Jessup, William J.—American worker, carpenter; active participant in the American labour movement; Vice-President (1866) and Corresponding Secretary (1867) of the National Labour Union of the United States for the State of New York, one of the leaders of the Workers' Union of New York; General Council's correspondent in the U.S.A.—41, 162, 226, 244, 245.

Johannard, Jules (1843-1888)—lithographer; member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); in 1870 founded a section of the International at St. Denis; member of the Paris Commune, sided with the Blanquists; following the defeat of the Commune emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—31, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 103, 210, 213, 277, 318.

Johne—French worker, surgical instrument-maker.—201.

Johnson, John—British democrat, member of the Universal Republican League and of the International.—172, 175, 177.

Johnson, Reverdy (1796-1876)—American lawyer and statesman; member of the Democratic Party; U.S. Ambassador to London (1868-69).—48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 83.

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—one of the Chartist leaders; outstanding figure in the British working-class movement, proletarian poet and publicist; member of the International; friend of Marx and Engels.—63, 69, 71, 126.

Jones, Lloyd (1811-1886)—active member of the British cooperative movement; Owenist; tailor by trade; Secretary of the Labour Representation League.—52.

Jost, Jean—secretary of the section of the Geneva turners, mechanics and foundrymen; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Joukowski, Nicolas. See *Zhukovsky.*

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent in the international and Swiss working-class movement; watchmaker; an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the

International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864-72), Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72), Vice-Chairman of the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; pursued Marx's line in the International up to the Hague Congress of 1872; later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—31, 32, 35-46, 48, 49, 50-65, 67-69, 71-79, 81-83, 85, 89-92, 95, 97-100, 103, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 118, 122, 123, 124, 128, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 144, 148, 149-51, 156, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 184, 185, 189, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 207, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 241.

Jungnickel, Wilhelm—German worker; member of the International; President of the Lugau Miners' Society.—46.

K

Kamp—Mayor of Seraing (Belgium), member of the Cockerill Company.—88, 313.

L

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent in the international working-class movement, outstanding propagator of Marxism; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); one of the founders of the Workers' Party in France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—31, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 103, 148, 150, 151, 156, 161, 162, 224, 228, 240.

Lagauche—41.

Laird, John (1805-1874)—British shipyard owner; Conservative M.P. (1861-74); during the American Civil War built, by order of the Confederate States, two armoured ships confiscated by the British Government in view of the U.S. Government's protests.—49.

Lambord—member of the International; on August 31, 1869, was nominated to the General Council but was never elected.—155, 165.

Laplace, Jacques—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; delegate to the third

congress of the Romance Federation of the International from the Carouge section. —277.

Laporte, E.—Secretary of the Paris Society of Proletarian Positivists.—217.

Largan—British trade unionist; took part in the Birmingham Trade Union Congress.—151.

Latham, Robert Masden—British trade unionist; President of the Labour Representation League; member of the *Bee-Hive* shareholders' committee; member of the International; on August 31, 1869, was nominated to the General Council but was never elected.—155, 165.

Law, Harriet (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (1867-72) and of the Manchester section of the International (1872)—31, 33, 35, 38, 65, 66, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 85, 89, 90, 103, 115, 117, 123, 125, 128, 133, 135, 138, 142, 145, 147, 150, 154, 282.

Ledoré (or Le Doré), *Constant Eugène* (1840-1881)—French republican, Secretary of the Brest section; in 1870 was twice brought to trial for being a member of the International.—222.

Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste (1807-1874)—French publicist and politician, one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois democrats, editor of the newspaper *Réforme;* member of the Provisional Government (1848), Deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies where he headed the Montagne; following the demonstration of June 13, 1849, emigrated to England; one of the leaders of the petty-bourgeois refugees in London.—190.

Le Lubez, Victor (born c. 1834)—French émigré in London, was connected with bourgeois-republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65); expelled from the General Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—135.

Le Maître, Frédéric—French refugee, petty-bourgeois democrat; member of the French branch in London; owner of a small printshop in London; at the close of the 1860s returned to Paris. —262, 263.

Leno, John Bredford (b. 1826)—British worker, printer, Chartist, later trade unionist; member of the Reform League; took part in the Inaugu-

ral Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), participant in the London Conference (1865); publisher of *The Workman's Advocate* (1865-66).—71, 109, 163.

Lepourque, Walter—Belgian worker, miner; member of the International; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) from the Seraing miners' society.—88.

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—prominent in the German and international working-class movement; tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; from 1856, an émigré in London; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association and of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; actively fought for Marx's line in the International; one of the founders of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—31, 34, 35, 37, 40, 41, 42, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 69-72, 74, 76, 78, 79, 81, 89, 92, 97, 98, 103, 106-109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 123, 125, 128, 135, 138, 142, 148, 150, 156, 159, 162, 165, 169, 171, 174, 177, 184, 191, 192, 194, 197, 200, 202, 204, 205, 206, 211, 212, 217, 221, 222, 223, 227, 229, 230, 233, 235, 237, 240, 241, 247, 251, 253, 255.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; member of the Communist League; active fighter against Lassalleanism and for the principles of the International in the German working-class movement; delegate to the Basle (1869) Congress of the International; from 1867, Reichstag deputy; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76); during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and the Paris Commune came out against the predatory plans of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie in defence of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—48, 50, 53, 55, 195, 362.

Limburg, W.—German worker, shoemaker; member of the German Workers' Educational Association in London, member of the General Council of the International

(1868-69).—31, 40, 41, 43, 45, 49, 51, 57, 60, 67, 81, 103, 109, 128, 133, 142.

Limousin, Charles—French printer, later journalist; Secretary of the Board of *L'Association;* one of the editors of *La Tribune ouvrière;* delegate to the London Conference (1865) of the International; active in the co-operative movement; published several journals.—112.

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865)—American statesman, one of the founders of the Republican Party, President of the United States (1861-65); assassinated in April 1865 by an agent of the slave-owners.—101.

Lindegger, Antoine (d. after 1898)—Swiss worker, loader; follower of Bakunin; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy and of the committee of the Geneva section named Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 was a member of the *Egalité* editorial board.—276.

Lintern, W.—British worker, trade unionist; delegate of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners to the General Council of the International (from March 1, 1870).—214, 217, 221.

Louis Bonaparte. See *Napoleon III.*

Louis Napoleon. See *Napoleon III.*

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—British worker, furniture maker; one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address "The Civil War in France" and left the General Council.—31, 33, 35-40, 45, 46, 48, 59, 65-67, 74, 76, 89, 96, 97, 103, 105, 108, 115, 117, 118, 123, 125, 127, 128, 133, 134, 138, 141-43, 146, 148-50, 156, 158, 162, 164-71, 173, 174, 177, 184, 190, 191, 193-95, 212, 217, 218, 220, 221, 230, 233-35, 241, 247, 255-58, 261, 270, 282, 371, 373.

Lullier, Charles (1838-1891)—French naval officer; member of the General Council of the International (May-June 1870); after the revolution of March 18, 1871, acted as Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard (until March 25); after the defeat of the Paris Commune was sentenced to death, the sentence being commuted to exile to

New Caledonia.—227, 235, 247, 253, 255, 257.

M

M'Donnell—prison physician in Dublin, dismissed for his protest against the cruel treatment of the imprisoned Fenians.—181.

Machiavelli, Niccolo (1469-1527)—Italian politician, historian and author, diplomat.—334.

Malon, Benoit (1841-1893)—French socialist; member of the International, delegate to the Geneva Congress of 1866; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard and the Paris Commune; following the defeat of the Commune emigrated to Italy and then to Switzerland where he joined the anarchists; subsequently became one of the leaders and ideologists of Possibilism in the French socialist movement.—169, 191.

Marauda—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Margarittaz (or Marguerittaz), *Placide*—member of the Romance Federation of the International; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Marilly, Joseph—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Martin J. Sella—member of the National Labour Union of the Coloured Men of the United States.—243.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—31-33, 35, 36, 38-44, 48-50, 52-59, 62-65, 67-77, 81-85, 88-92, 95-98, 100, 103-05, 111, 113, 117, 118, 120, 122-25, 128, 132-35, 137-40, 142, 143, 146, 148, 149, 151, 161, 169-78, 183, 184, 186, 189-200, 202, 214, 217, 218, 220, 222-31, 235, 237-39, 244, 246, 255-64, 266-70, 273, 283, 298, 301, 311, 317, 318, 324, 342, 355, 363, 365, 367, 368, 371, 373, 374, 375.

Matis, A.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Maulet, J.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Maurice, Zévy—tailor, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—31, 62, 65, 67, 70, 74, 76, 92, 96, 97, 106, 123, 133, 135, 150, 156, 162, 164-69, 171, 173, 174, 176, 177, 191, 222, 225, 233, 234, 236, 237, 240, 241, 245, 247, 282.

Mayo. See *Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke,* Earl of *Mayo.*

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, one of the leaders of the Italian national liberation movement, headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); one of the organisers of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the International.—48.

Mégy, Edmond (1844-1888)—French worker, mechanic; Blanquist; early in 1870 was accused by the Bonaparte authorities of an anti-Napoleon III conspiracy; when being arrested he killed a policeman; was released following the establishment of a republic in France (September 4, 1870); member of the International and participant in the Paris Commune; the Commune's delegate in Marseilles (April 1871); after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to the U.S.A. where he propagated the Commune's ideas.—213.

Mermillod, François—Swiss worker, case-maker; in the latter part of the 1860s, took an active part in the Swiss working-class movement; Vice-President of the Romance Federation of the International; delegate to the Brussels Congress; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Merriman, Joseiah J.—English lawyer, Notary Public, in business as Merriman and Co.; member of the General Council (November 1864-67); member of the Reform League.—172, 173.

Meyer, Siegfried (c. 1840-1872)—German socialist, engineer; member of the General Association of German Workers; opposed the Lassallean influence in the German working-class movement; in 1864 published in Germany, at his own expense, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party;* in 1866 emigrated to the U.S.A., member of the New York Communist Club and an organiser of the International's sections in the U.S.A.; follower of Marx and Engels.—36, 244.

Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—British vulgar bourgeois economist and positivist philosopher, advocate of the classical school in political economy; defended rights for women.—125.

Milner, George—Irishman; tailor by trade; active participant in the British working-class movement; follower of Bronterre O'Brien; member of the National Reform League and of the Land and La-

bour League; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871, member of the British Federal Council (1872-73), fought the reformist wing in the Council.—31, 34, 35, 38-40, 46-48, 51, 57, 59, 62, 65-67, 70, 72, 78, 79, 81, 84, 103, 111, 113, 116-22, 123, 127, 128, 132, 133, 137, 138, 140, 141, 145, 147-50, 151, 156, 161, 162, 164, 165, 167-71, 174, 176, 177, 183-85, 188, 191, 192, 193, 197, 200, 202, 204, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 218, 223, 229, 233, 235, 237, 238, 240, 241, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 269, 289.

Monachon, L.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Monthus—Secretary of the French branch in London.—92.

Moor, George Henry (1811-1870)—Irish politician, one of the leaders of the movement for tenants' rights; M. P. (1847-57, 1868-70); defended the imprisoned Fenians.—179, 183.

Morell, R. M.—honorary secretary of the Sunday League.—69.

Moriamé, Auguste—member of the International in London; born in Luxembourg; wrote newspaper articles in defence of the Irish national liberation movement.—239.

Mottershead, Thomas (c. 1825-1884)—English worker, weaver; member of the General Council (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); after the Hague Congress headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; expelled from the International by decision of the General Council, May 30, 1873.—168, 172, 174, 177, 184, 186, 188, 189, 190, 202, 216, 217, 218, 222, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 237, 249, 252, 253.

Mroczkowsky, Valérien (1840-1889)—took part in the Polish insurrection of 1863, after which emigrated first to France and then to Switzerland; photographer by trade; follower of Bakunin; was on the League of Peace and Freedom Committee; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, both the open and secret Alliance.—276.

Müller, Anton—Swiss worker, watchmaker; member of the General Council of the International (1869).—81, 84, 85, 89, 91, 103.

Mundella, Anthony John (1825-1897)—British statesman and

manufacturer; M. P. (from 1868), held several ministerial posts.—91.

Murat, André Pierre (1833-1893)—French worker, mechanic; Proudhonist; member of the Paris Committee of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; involved in the first (1868) and third (1870) trials of the International in Paris.—110, 112, 158.

Murray, Charles—English worker, shoemaker; active in the English working-class movement; Chartist; one of the National Reform League leaders; member of the General Council (1870-72) and of the British Federal Council (1872-73); follower of Marx and Engels; in the 1880s, active member of the Social-Democratic Federation.—226, 230, 233, 235, 250, 253, 258, 260, 261, 262, 269.

Murray, Patrick Joseph—chief of the Dublin convict prison.—181.

N

Naas, Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of *Mayo* (1822-1872)—British statesman, Conservative, Chief Secretary for Ireland (1852, 1858-59, 1866-68), Viceroy of India (1869-72).—181.

Napoleon III (Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—French Emperor (1852-70).—83, 180, 187, 191, 233, 241, 242, 306, 314.

Neumayer, Ludwig—Austrian Social-Democrat, journalist; member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); editor of *Wiener-Neustädter Wochenblatt* and *Volkswille.*—212, 222.

Nidegger, Louis—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

O

O'Brien, James (literary pen name *Bronterre O'Brien*) (1802-1864)—British publicist, Chartist leader, editor of *Poor Man's Guardian* (1830s); wrote several social reform projects; in 1849 founded the National Reform League.—34, 282.

Odger, George (1820-1877)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; shoemaker; took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary from 1862 to 1872; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, the Land and Labour League, and the Labour Representation League; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform

League, compromised with the bourgeoisie; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address *The Civil War in France* and left the Council.—31, 39, 40, 43, 55, 59-61, 97, 99, 103, 111, 150, 155, 156, 161, 165, 174, 184-86, 188-94, 201, 242, 282.

O'Donovan Rossa, Jeremiah (1831-1915)—one of the founders and leaders of the Fenian Society; publisher of *The Irish People* (1863-65); in 1865 was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment; in 1870 was amnestied and left for the United States where he led the Fenian organisation; in the 1880s resigned from political activities.—183.

O'Shea, Henry—Irish public figure, in 1869 came out in support of the imprisoned Fenians.—183.

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—famous British utopian socialist.—152, 154.

P

Palmer, John—118.

Parnell, James—member of the General Council from the London Elastic Web-Weavers' Society (October 1869-70).—169, 176, 204, 206.

Pellaton, S.—Secretary of the Bakers' Co-operative Society in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; withdrew from the Alliance in February 1869.—277.

Pellegrin-Druart, A.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Pelletier, Claude (1816-1881)—French democrat; deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies (1848-51); exiled from France after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; emigrated to the U.S.A.; the International's correspondent for the French-language section in America.—36, 244.

Perret, Henri—Swiss worker, engraver; took an active part in the working-class movement; one of the International's leaders in Switzerland; General Secretary of the Romance Federal Committee (1868-73); member of the *Egalité* editorial board; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in 1869 broke away from the Bakuninists, but after the Hague Congress of the Inter-

national adopted a conciliatory stand.—116, 206, 226, 239, 276.

Perrié—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Perron, Charles Eugène (1837-1919)—enamel painter, then cartographer; active in the Swiss working-class movement; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses of the International; follower of Bakunin; member of the Central Bureau of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; one of the editors of *L'Egalité* (1869) and *La Solidarité* and a leader of Jura Federation; subsequently left the working-class movement.—210, 276.

Petersen, Niels Lorenzo (1814-d. after 1889)—prominent in the international working-class movement, follower of Weitling; then member of the Communist League; in 1859 contributed to the newspaper *Volk* whose actual editor was Marx; member of the German section of the International in Paris in 1870; one of the leaders of the Left-wing Danish Social-Democrats; delegate to the International Socialist Congress of 1889.—223, 225, 227.

Pfänder, Karl (1818-1876)—one of the leaders of the German and international working-class movement, miniaturist; an émigré in London, from 1845; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association, the Central Committee of the Communist League, and of the General Council of the International (November 1864-67 and January 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—199, 202, 223, 227, 237.

Philipp, prince (1837-1905)—Count of *Flanders*, son of the Belgian king Leopold I.—88, 313.

Phipson, J.—Englishman, member of the International.—124.

Phipson—Englishwoman, member of the First International.—134.

Pindy, Jean Louis (1840-1917)—French worker, joiner; follower of Proudhon; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; organised a section of the International in Brest (September 1869); member of the Paris Federal Council; was involved in the third trial of the International in Paris (1870) and was sent to prison; member of the Paris Commune; after the Commune's defeat, refugee in Switzerland, joined the anarchists.—219.

Pinière (or Pinier) (d. after 1898)—Swiss shopkeeper; Bakuninist; member of the initiating group of the Alli-

ance of Socialist Democracy; was on the *Egalité* editorial board (1869).—277.

Pirmez, Edor (1830-1890)—Belgian statesman, Liberal, M.P. (1857-90), Home Minister (1868-70), Director of the National Bank.—88, 313.

Pisteur, Fr.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Pope, Alexander (1688-1744)—great English poet.—145.

Postleb, Charles—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Potot, John—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Potter, George (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter; one of the reformist leaders of the trade union movement; member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* where he pursued a compromise policy with the liberal bourgeoisie.—48, 283.

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French publicist, dramatist and politician, petty-bourgeois democrat; took part in the Revolution of 1848; from 1849, a refugee in Switzerland, Belgium and England; was against an independent working-class movement; carried on a slanderous campaign against Marx and the International, using the French branch in London; Deputy of the National Assembly of 1871; member of the Paris Commune, after the defeat of the Commune emigrated to England.—83.

R

Raspail, François (1794-1878)—French socialist, naturalist and publicist; was close to the revolutionary proletariat; took part in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; after 1855 adopted a bourgeois-democratic stand; on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war belonged to the bourgeois-republican opposition.—95, 176, 329.

Randall, J. W.—Secretary of the Working Men's Institute of Boston, member of the International.—32.

Rau, Wilhelm—member of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Raymond, Charles—delegate to the first congress of the Romance Federation of the

International (January 1869); Secretary of the Central Section in Geneva (1870); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Reclus, Elie (1827-1904)—French ethnographer and publicist, utopian socialist, took part in the 1848 Revolution; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, was exiled from France; returned in 1855; in the days of the Paris Commune was director of the National Library; brother of Elisée Reclus.—78.

Reclus, Elisée (1830-1905)—French geographer and sociologist; a theoretician of anarchism; after the coup d'état of December 2, 1851, emigrated; in 1857 returned to France; member of the International; editor of *Coopération* (1866-68); participant in the Paris Commune; after its defeat was exiled from France.—122, 143, 145.

Rémy, Theodor—German teacher; Secretary of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; follower of Bakunin; member of the Geneva section of the International named Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Reymond—French worker, lithographer; delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867), member of the Paris Federal Council. —228.

Richard, Albert (1846-1925)—French journalist; one of the leaders of the Lyons section of the International; member of the secret Alliance; took part in the Lyons rising of September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune became a Bonapartist; in the 1880s joined the Allemanists—an opportunist trend in the French socialist movement—116, 117, 139, 184, 215, 220, 231.

Robert, Fritz—Swiss teacher; follower of Bakunin; delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the *Solidarité* editorial board.—54.

Robin, Paul (b. 1837)—French teacher, follower of Bakunin; one of the leaders of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the General Council (1870-71); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and to the London Conference (1871) of the International.—210.

Rochat, Fr.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. —276.

Rochefort, Henri (1831-1913)—French publicist and politician, Left-wing republican; publisher of the journal *La*

Lanterne (1868-69) and the newspaper *La Marseillaise* (1869-70); after the Revolution of September 4, 1870, was member of the Government of National Defence.—211, 213.

Rochow, Gustav Adolf (1792-1847)—reactionary Prussian Junker, Home Minister (1834-42).—308.

Roesgen von Floss, Philipp von—Dutch journalist, active in the working-class movement; engineer by trade.—253.

Ross, J.—English worker; member of the General Council of the International (1869).—77, 78, 79, 89, 97, 103, 109, 111, 113, 128, 135.

Rossety (or Rossetti), *Biagio* (Blaise)—Italian worker; President of the Italian section in Geneva, member of the Romance Federal Committee (from 1870); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Rozan, Philomène—French woman worker, member of the International, President of the Lyons society of silk winders.—139.

Ruchet, Ch.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Rühl, J.—German worker; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (1870-72).—204, 206, 211, 212, 214, 218, 221, 227, 230, 233, 241, 250.

Russell, John (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1865-66).—186.

S

Sahlman—German worker; member of the International, President of the German Workers' Educational Association in London (1868).—37.

Saint-Simon, Henri (1760-1825)—great French utopian socialist.—130, 323.

Samuelson, James (d. after 1903)—active in the British working-class movement, President of the Liverpool Cigar-Makers' Society; wrote several works on the labour question.—110.

Sanguinède, J.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Sanguinède, Rosalie—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Sarrel—English worker, mason; member of the International.—254.

Schettel, Adrien—French worker, mechanic; Left-wing republican, took part in the Revolution of 1848; one of the organisers of the Lyons section of the International; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; was imprisoned for taking part in the revolutionary events in Lyons in September 1870.—117, 215.

Schmutz—member of the General Council from the Helvetia Society (January 1870-71)—202, 204, 206, 253.

Schweitzer, Johann Baptist (1833-1875)—leader of the Lassallean movement in Germany; editor of *Social-Demokrat* (1864-65); President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71); supported Bismarck's policy of unifying Germany under the hegemony of Prussia; prevented German workers from joining the International; opposed the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; in 1872 was expelled from the General Association because of his contacts with the Prussian authorities.—43, 82, 195, 362, 363.

Schulze-Delitzsch, Hermann (1808-1883)—German politician and vulgar economist, advocated the unification of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia; one of the founders of the National Union; in the 1860s one of the Progressist leaders; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—43, 281.

Scopini, J. J.—Chairman and then Deputy Secretary of the Geneva section of joiners, mechanics and rollers; delegate to the Chaux-de-Fonds Congress of the Romance Federation (April 1870); member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Self, H.—English worker; Secretary of the London Compositors' Society; member of the International.—90.

Sentiñon, Gaspar (d. 1903)—Spanish physician; anarchist; one of the Alliance founders in Spain, one of the leaders of the secret Alliance; delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); expelled from the International by decision of the General Council, May 30, 1873.—112.

Serraillier, Auguste (b. 1840)—took an active part in the French and international working-class movement; last-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72);

in September 1870 was sent to Paris as the General Council's representative, member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); member of the British Federal Council (1873-74); associate of Marx.—164, 168, 199, 200, 202, 206, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 218, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 237, 238, 239, 241, 248, 250, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 263.

Shaw, Robert (d. 1869)—one of the leaders of the British working-class movement, house-painter; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), in which he took an active part, propagating the International's ideas in local trade union organisations, Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69), delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—31, 45, 46, 49, 50, 61, 62, 66, 98, 103, 194, 199, 282, 318, 362.

Shepherd, Joseph—member of the General Council of the International (1869-70).—164, 168.

Shorrocks, Peter (b. 1834)—British trade unionist; one of the founders of the Trades Council in Manchester and Salford; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Tailors' Society.—165.

Smith, Goldwin (1823-1910)—British bourgeois historian, economist and publicist; Liberal; advocate of the British colonial policy in Ireland; in 1868 left for the U.S.A., and from 1871 lived in Canada.—100.

Smith, John—Chartist; Secretary of a Whitechurch cooperative society; member of the International.—76, 98, 109, 184.

Smith, John Abel (1801-1871)—British banker, Liberal, M.P. —143.

Snider, Jacob (d. 1866)—American inventor of a breech-loading rifle.—340.

Sorge, Friedrich Adolf (1828-1906)—prominent in the international and American working-class and socialist movement; took part in the Revolution of 1848; in 1852 emigrated to the U.S.A.; organiser of American sections of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); active propagator of Marxism; friend and asso-

ciate of Marx and Engels.—241.

Spier, Samuel—German Social-Democrat; member of the Brunswick Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers); member of the International; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869).—202.

Stepney, William Frederick Cowell (1820-1872)—English socialist, member of the Reform League and of the League of Peace and Freedom; member of the General Council of the International (1867-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and to the London Conference (1871) of the International, member of the British Federal Council (1872).—31, 33, 36, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 65, 67, 70, 72, 78, 79, 85, 92, 103, 104, 106, 108, 109, 111, 115, 123, 128, 133, 135, 142, 148, 150, 161, 162, 171, 177, 184, 195, 197, 200, 204, 206, 212, 215, 221, 222, 225, 227, 230, 231, 233, 235, 237, 241, 247, 253, 255, 258, 262, 282, 318, 342.

Stoll—member of the General Council of the International (1870).—257, 262.

Sullivan, Edward (1822-1885)—Irish statesman, jurist; in 1865 conducted proceedings against the Fenians; Attorney-General for Ireland (1868-70); keeper of the court archives of Ireland; Lord-Chancellor for Ireland (1883-85).—182.

Sumner, Charles (1811-1874)—American politician, one of the leaders of the Republican Party's Left wing; Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs (1861-71); favoured revolutionary methods of struggle against the slave-owning South; following the victory of the North in the Civil War spoke in support of political rights for the Negroes; supporter of the International.—100.

Sylvis, William (1828-1869)—American worker, ironmoulder; prominent figure in the American labour movement, one of the founders of the International Ironmoulders' Union (1859), its President (1863-69); took part in the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the North; one of the founders of the National Labour Union of the United States (1866) and its President (1868-69), favoured affiliation to the International.—109, 142, 162, 325, 341, 352.

T

Thiers, Adolphe (1797-1877)—French bourgeois historian and statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836-40);

Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73); dealt brutally with the Paris Communards.—119.

Thiou, Eugène—member of the Committee of the French branch in London, expelled from the International in 1868.—41, 42.

Thurneysen, Edward (1824-1890)—Swiss politician, jurist; member of the Basle Grand Council (1869).—327.

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—French worker, engraver; Right-wing Proudhonist; a leader of the Paris section; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; deputy to the National Assembly (1871); during the Paris Commune went over to the Versaillists and was expelled from the International; subsequently Senator.—63, 112, 158, 174.

Townshend, William—British worker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); in the 1880s participated in the socialist movement.—43, 106, 111, 115, 118, 123, 128, 135, 138, 148, 150, 162, 165, 167, 169, 171, 172, 174, 176, 177, 184, 191, 200, 211, 212, 213, 215, 221, 222, 230, 241, 247, 250, 251, 253, 258, 262.

Trolop—148.

Truelove, Edward (1809-1899)—London publisher, former Chartist, follower of Owen; member of the Reform League and of the Sunday League; published the General Council's addresses on the Franco-Prussian war and on the Civil War in France.—76.

Tucci, Cristiano—Italian worker, carpenter; Vice-President of the Naples section of the International.—73.

V

Varlet—member of the International in Belgium.—87.

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—prominent in the French working-class movement; bookbinder; Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard; took part in the Paris Commune; shot by the Versaillists on May 28, 1871.—112, 134, 165, 167, 214, 218, 224, 231, 239, 253.

Verlet, Henri (real name *Place*)—French journalist, Blanquist, founder of a section of the International in Paris in April 1870.—224.

Vésinier, Pierre (1826-1902)—French petty-bourgeois publicist, anti-Bonapartist, émigré; one of the organisers of the French branch in London; conducted a slanderous campaign against the General Council and was expelled from the International by decision of the Brussels Congress of 1868; member of the Paris Commune.—44, 63.

Vindry—French worker; dyer; member of the Lyons section of the International.—215.

Vogt, August (c. 1830-c. 1883)—leader of the German and American labour movement; shoemaker; member of the Communist League, participant in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany; member of the General Association of German Workers, opposed Lassalleanism in the German working-class movement; in 1867 emigrated to the U.S.A., member of the New York Communist Club, one of the organisers of the International's sections in the United States, correspondent of the General Council; supporter of Marx and Engels.—244.

W

Walker.—148.

Walker, John—British worker, cigar-maker; member of the International; Secretary of the Cigar-Makers' Society.—210.

Walton, Alfred Armstrong (b. 1816)—participant in the British democratic movement; architect; President of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1867-70); delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867).—31, 108, 134, 152, 213, 214, 282.

Ward, Osborne—participant in the American labour movement; member of the Brooklyn section of the International; was influenced by bourgeois reformists; at the Hague Congress (1872) of the International was elected member of the General Council but he turned it down.—163, 249.

Warren, John—British worker, trunk-maker; member of the General Council from the London Trunk-Makers' Society (1869).—60, 62, 65, 67, 72, 73, 74, 103.

Warren, Josiah (c. 1799-1874)—American utopian socialist, follower of Owen; preached theory of just exchange according to labour value.—146, 147.

Weiss, Ludwig (d. before 1898)—Swiss worker, jeweller; a founder of the first section of the International in Switzerland; member of the Central Committee of the German-speaking sections in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alli-

ance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Wenckheim, Bela (1811-1879)—Hungarian statesman. Liberal. Home Minister (1867-69).—338.

Weston, John—British worker, carpenter, subsequently manufacturer; follower of Owen; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; active member of the General Council of the International (1864-72); delegate to the London Conference of 1865; member of the British Federal Council and of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; a leader of the Land and Labour League.—31, 35-37, 39, 40, 41, 43-44, 46, 48, 51, 55, 56, 60-62, 65, 66, 70, 72, 74, 81, 83, 84, 96, 103, 115, 117, 118, 121, 123, 128, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139, 148, 149, 156, 165, 166, 169, 171-73, 177, 191, 193, 194, 200, 201, 202, 204, 209, 211, 212, 214, 218, 225, 235, 237, 239, 240, 241, 247, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 262, 265, 269, 282, 351, 371, 373.

Williams, Charles Owen—British worker, plasterer; co-operator; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68); at the Brussels Congress (1868) was re-elected to the Council but after September 1868 did not take part in its work.—31, 282.

Worley, William—British worker, printer; member of the British League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the Inaugural Meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67); member of the Reform League.—52.

Wucher, Leopold (d. before 1898)—German worker, tailor; member of the International, Chairman of the tailors' section in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—277.

Y

Yale—British trade unionist, Secretary of the Trades Council of Dundee.—89.

Yarrow, F.—British worker, cabinet-maker; trade unionist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68, 1872).—76, 89, 108.

Yeomanson—British worker, shoemaker; member of the International, Secretary of the Shoemakers' Society in the City.—234.

Z

Zabicki, Anton (c. 1810-1871?)—one of the leaders of the Polish national liberation

movement; compositor; left Poland after 1831; participant in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49; from 1851, an émigré in England; one of the leaders of the Polish Democratic Society in London; from 1863 on, published *Głos Wolny*; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71). —31, 41, 57, 92, 103, 108, 142, 143, 200, 202, 262, 318.

Zagorsky, Jean—Polish émigré in Switzerland; member of the committee of the League of Peace and Freedom; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; in the late 1860s left for Italy and deserted the movement.—276.

Zampérini, J.—Italian worker, hatter; member of the Italian section in Geneva; member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Zhukovsky, Nikolai (Joukowski) (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist, an émigré in Switzerland, from 1862; member of the committee of the League of Peace and Freedom; one of the leaders of the secret Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy.—276.

Zöller, Phil.—member of the initiating group of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. —276.

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